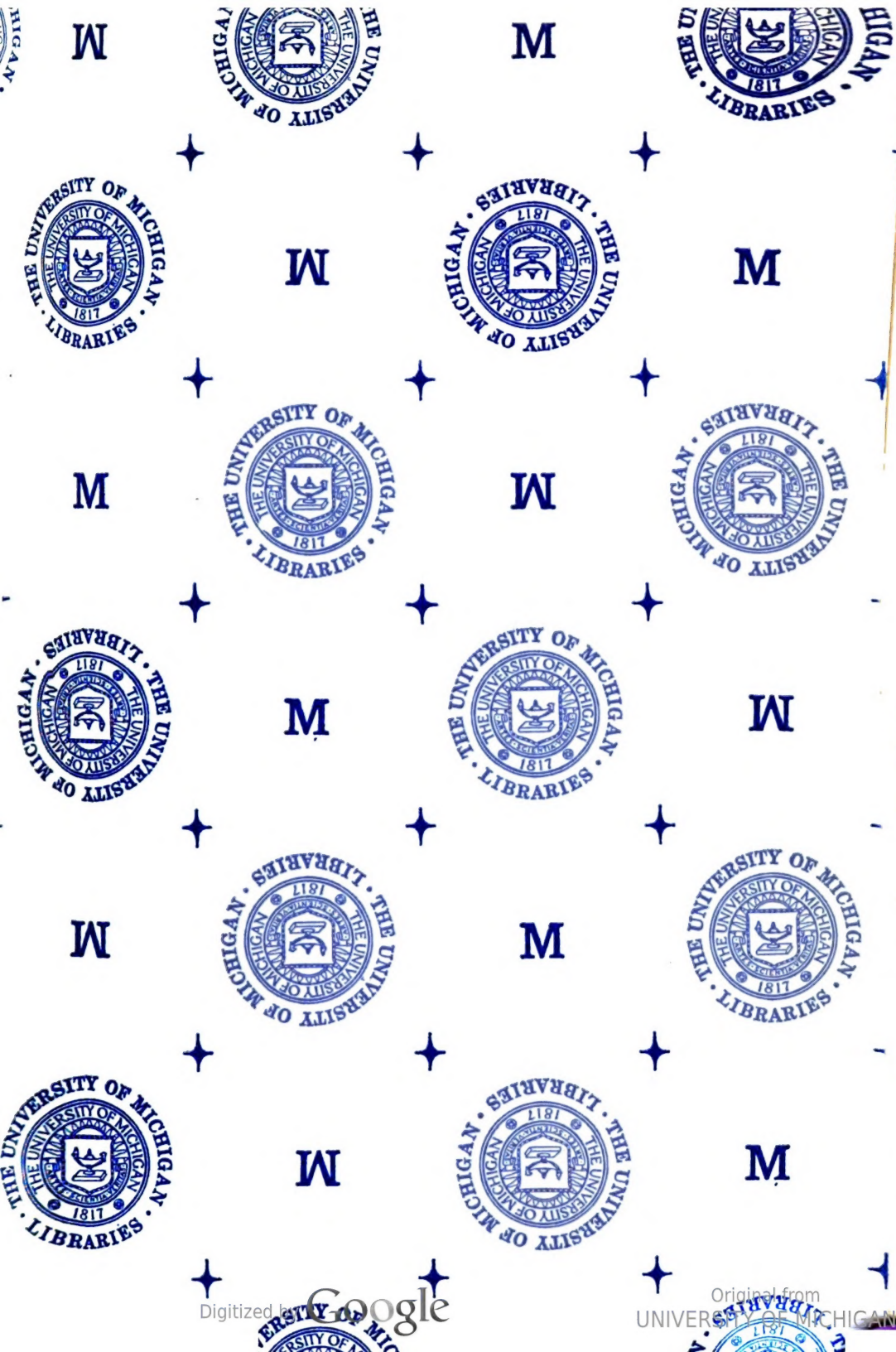
B 1,597,134

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN


THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN · LIBRARIES · 1817
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Supplement to Philological Quarterly, Vol. V, No. 4

PHILOLOGICAL QUARTERLY

A Journal Devoted to Scholarly Investigation in the Classical and Modern Languages and Literatures

VOLUME V 1926

PUBLISHED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY, IOWA

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

.C5
.P557
1.5
1926

PHILOLOGICAL QUARTERLY

Issued in January, April, July, and October. Subscription price, $2.00 a year; single copies, 60 cents postpaid. Contributions should not exceed 8000 words in length. Reviews will ordinarily be limited to 500 words. All communications are to be addressed to the Editor, Hardin Craig, Iowa City, Iowa.

Editor
HARDIN CRAIG

Associate Editors
CHARLES BUNDY WILSON, Germanic Languages and Literatures
ROY C. FLICKINGER, Classical Languages and Literatures
BALDWIN MAXWELL, English and Comparative Literature
RALPH EMERSON HOUSE, Romance Languages and Literatures

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

Keats's Philosophy of Beauty - - - - *Claude L. Finney* 1
A Fleury Text of Avianus - - - - - - *W. A. Oldfather* 20
Le Rôle du Surnaturel dans les Chansons de Geste - - - - - - - - - - *Adolphe J. Dickman* 29
Interpretation of the First Canto of Dante's *Divina Commedia* - - - - *Oliver M. Johnston* 35
Boccaccio's Acquaintance with Homer - *Cornelia C. Coulter* 44
Heine's *Harzreise* Once More - - - - - *C. H. Ibershoff* 54
Heine's "Ich hatte einst ein schönes Vaterland" - - - - - - - - - *Franz Schneider* 56
The Plays of Isaac Bickerstaff in America - *Ethel Macmillan* 58
Five Unpublished Letters by Carl Hilty - - *Herbert Z. Kip* 70
Notes on *The Spanish Tragedy* - - - - *Robert S. Forsythe* 78
Notes on Thomas Kyd's Works - - - *Wilfred P. Mustard* 85
The "Egloga Sobrel Molino de Vascalon" - *Joseph E. Gillet* 87
Some Problems in Scenic Antiquities - - *Roy C. Flickinger* 97
An Unpublished Ballad by Percy Bysshe Shelley - - - - - - - - - - *Walter Edwin Peck* 114
Scenes of Discovery in *Othello* - - - - *Allan H. Gilbert* 119
L'Américaine au théâtre - - - - - - - *Maurice Baudin* 131
Latin Manuscripts in American Libraries - - *B. L. Ullman* 152
Hospitals [during the Revolution]: an Unpublished Essay by J. Hector St. John de Crèvecœur - - - - - *H. L. Bourdin* and *S. T. Williams* 157
Shakespeare's Share in *Titus Andronicus* - - - - - - - - - *Henry David Gray* 166
Aloud, Loud,* and *Out Loud - - - - - - *John S. Kenyon* 173
Two Notes on Shakespeare - - - - - - *John S. Kenyon* 175
The "Ode to an Expiring Frog" - - - - *R. S. Forsythe* 180
Ein Unveroeffentlichtes (!) Gedicht Von Karl Bartsch - - - - *J. F. L. Raschen* 182
"Make Rope's in Such a Scarre" - - - - *R. R. Cawley* 183
"Aster" and "Starr" - - - - - - - - *J. P. Postgate* 184
"Veni, Vidi, Vici" - - - - - - - - - *J. P. Postgate* 185
Errata - - - - - - - - - - - - - *Frederick A. Pottle* 185
The Beginning of Cotton Mather's Correspondence with August Hermann Francke - - - *Kuno Francke* 193
Thomas Blackwell, a Disciple of Shaftesbury - *Lois Whitney* 196
Variation in the Latin Dactylic Hexameter - - *R. B. Steele* 212
Greek Parallels to Certain Features of the *Beowulf* - - - - - - - - - *Albert S. Cook* 226
Chamisso as a Social Poet - - - - - - - *Solomon Liptzin* 235
The Early History of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in England - - - - - - - - - - *Marvin T. Herrick* 242

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Chateaubriand's Reading during his "Emigration" - - - - - - - - - - *Aaron Schaffer* 258
Roy's Portrait of Moncrif - - - - - *G. L. von Roosbroeck* 273
Notes on Plato, *Laws* 886E-887A - - - *Roger Miller Jones* 274
Collé Identified as a Collaborator on the *Anecdotes Dramatiques* - - - - *Olav K. Lundeberg* 276
A Note on the Areopagus - - - - - *Frederic E. Faverty* 278
Anatole France and Copernicus - - - - - *J. M. Carrière* 281
An Old Acquaintance of Maurice Donnay - *J. M. Carrière* 281
Lichtenberg's "Würste, Bibliotek" - - - *C. H. Ibershoff* 282
Errata - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - *J. P. Postgate* 288
Makeshifts for the Passive of Deponent Verbs in Latin - - - - - - - *Eugene S. McCartney* 289
The Hungry Knave in the Beaumont and Fletcher Plays - - - - - - - - *Baldwin Maxwell* 299
C and *Z* in American Spanish - - - - *Norman L. Willey* 306
Pettie's Petty Pilfering from Poets - - *J. N. Douglas Bush* 325
The Royal Boar and the Ellesmere Chaucer - - - - - - - - - - *Edwin Ford Piper* 330
English Literature of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century: A Current Bibliography - *Ronald S. Crane* 341

BOOK REVIEWS

THEODOR MENZEL, *Bilge Köschk, Turkische Märchen* (Alexander Haggerty Krappe).—GEORGE COFFIN TAYLOR, *Shakespeare's Debt to Montaigne* (H.C.).—FRANKLIN EDGERTON, *The Panchatantra Reconstructed, an Attempt to Establish the Lost Original Sanskrit Text of the Most Famous of Indian Story-Collections on the Basis of the Principal Extant Versions* (Franklin H. Potter).—*Streitberg Festgabe* (C.B.W.).—OTTO PAUL SCHINNERER, *Woman in the Life and Work of Gutzkow* (C.B.W.).—KARL VORETSCH, *Einführung in das Studium der Altfranzösischen Literatur* (C. E. Y.).—ALFRED MORTIER, *Ruzzante, un Dramaturge Populaire de la Renaissance Italienne* (C.E.Y.).—ALLARDYCE NICOLL, *A History of Eighteenth Century Drama* (Bartholow V. Crawford) - - - 90
L. B. MERRILL, *The Life and Poems of Nicholas Grimald* (C. L. Finney).—STEPHEN GASELEE, *An Anthology of Medieval Latin* (Henry Grattan Doyle).—BENJAMIN BISSELL, *The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (Bartholow V. Crawford).—ERWIN K. MAPES, *L'Influence française dans l'oeuvre de Ruben Dario* (A.J. Dickman).—JAN VELDKAMP, *Samuel Butler, the Author of Hudibras* (Guy Linton Diffenbaugh).—N. KERSHAW, *Stories and Ballads of the Far Past* (George F. Flom) - 186
Festskrift til Amund B. Larsen på hans 75-aars fødselsdag (Henning Larsen).—LOUIS HALPHEN, *Éginhard's Vie de Charlemagne* (Walther I. Brandt).—NORMAN FOERSTER, *Nature in American Literature: Studies in the Modern View of Nature* (Frank Luther Mott).—HENRI L. BOURDIN, RALPH H. GABRIEL, and STANLEY T. WILLIAMS, *Sketches of Eighteenth Century America: More "Letters from an American Farmer," by St. John de Crèvecoeur* (Frank Luther Mott).—A. C. L. BROWN, "The Grail and the English Sir Perceval" (Archer Taylor).—GEORGE TYLER NORTHUP, *An Introduction to Spanish Literature* (R.E.H.) - - - - - 284
EMIL ERMATINGER, *Weltdeutung in Grimmelshausens Simplicius Simplicissimus* (Edwin G. Gudde) - - - - - - - - - - 384

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

PHILOLOGICAL QUARTERLY

VOLUME V JANUARY, 1926 NUMBER 1

KEATS'S PHILOSOPHY OF BEAUTY:

AN INTERPRETATION OF THE ALLEGORY OF *ENDYMION* IN THE LIGHT OF THE NEO-PLATONISM OF SPENSER

By CLAUDE L. FINNEY
University of Iowa

The whole problem of the allegory of *Endymion* has been reopened by Miss Amy Lowell[1] in her recent biography of Keats. Miss Lowell, in fact, denies that there is a trace of allegory in Keats's poetry, because allegory, she says, was foreign to his nature. She finds in *Endymion* merely a boyish glorification of sexual love. "Commentator after commentator," she says, "shocked and uncomprehending, has tried to torture this idealization of sexual love into something else: the soul striving toward a pallid, celibate heaven, or man rising out of his individuality into a cheerless, humanitarian vacuum. Keats meant none of these thngs. He meant the love of man for woman, as being both his physical and spiritual fulfillment."[2]

Both Miss Lowell and the critics[3] with whom she disagrees have made the mistake of interpreting *Endymion* without reference to the philosophy of Keats's Elizabethan masters from whom, they agree, he derived the form and substance of his poetry. The allegory of *Endymion*, as a matter of fact, is based upon Keats's principles of beauty which he received through Elizabethan channels from Greek literature and philosophy. Since he knew small Latin and no Greek, Keats could not absorb classic culture in its pure form; and, since, as a romanticist, he scorned the neo-classical translations of Dryden and Pope, he formed his conception of the antique world

[1] Lowell, Amy: *John Keats*. 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass., 1925.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 365.
[3] My interpretation of the allegory of *Endymion* is similar in many details to the interpretations of Sir Sidney Colvin (in *John Keats*. N.Y., 1917) and Mr. Ernest de Selincourt (in *Poems of John Keats*. N.Y., 1921), who are the critics to whom Miss Lowell refers.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

from the rich classical allusions, adaptations, and imitations which he found in the poetry of his Elizabethan masters, Spenser, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Chapman, Drayton, and Sandys.

From these Elizabethan interpretations of Greek culture, which, however lacking in classical restraint and symmetry, are always highly imaginative, Keats conceived of the Greek spirit as the principle of beauty in all things. "Keats," said Joseph Severn,[4] "made me in love with the real living spirit of the past. He was the first to point out to me how essentially modern that Spirit is: 'it's an immortal youth,' he would say, 'just as there is no *Now* or *Then* for the Holy Ghost'." "Rome," said Severn again, "the real Rome, would never have become a joy to me——had it not been for Keats's talks with me about the Greek spirit,—the Religion of the Beautiful, the Religion of Joy, as he used to call it." This passionate faith in the principle of beauty was the one abiding element in Keats's poetic creed. A few months before his death he wrote to his fiancée, Miss Brawne: "If I should die, said I to myself, I have left no immortal work behind me——nothing to make my friends proud of my memory—but I have lov'd the principle of beauty in all things, and if I had had time I would have made myself remember'd."[5]

Keats's belief in the principle of beauty was the result not only of imaginative apprehension but also of philosophical speculation. He had, as a matter of fact, a more philosophical quality of mind than cursory readers of his poetry perceive. His lack of a formal knowledge of philosophy was due to his inadequate education rather than to a distaste for philosophical abstractions. In his letters, which are full of acute observations on life and literature, he admits his ignorance of philosophy and resolves to learn Greek as a preparation for a study of metaphysics.[6] But no man who has absorbed the poetry of Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton, as Keats had done, can be called ignorant of the important body of philosophic thought.

The erotic literature of the Renaissance was inspired by the neo-Platonic philosophy of beauty, which was popularized by Petrarch, whose sonnets to Laura were translated and imitated by poets throughout western Europe. This philosophy of beauty was studied in the Platonic Academy at Florence, which was founded by Cosimo

[4] Sharp, William, *Life and Letters of Joseph Severn.* London, 1892, p. 29.

[5] Forman, H.B., *The Complete Works of John Keats.* 5 vols. Glasgow, 1901. Vol. 5, p. 156.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 104.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

d'Medici as a result of the Platonic lectures delivered at Florence in 1453 by the gifted Greek, Gemisthos Plethon, from whom it acquired those mystical elements which had been incorporated into Platonism by Plotinus, Jamblichus, and Proclus. Under the patronage of Lorenzo d'Medici, the grandson of Cosimo, the work of the Academy was carried on by such brilliant philosophers as Marsilio Ficino, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, and Giovanni Cavalcanti. This neo-Platonism, which first appeared in English literature in Hoby's translation of Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, is diffused throughout the poetry of Keats's Elizabethan masters, Spenser, Shakespeare, Drayton, and Sandys.

Since Keats had an intellect as well as an imagination, it is inconceivable that he should not have speculated about the explicit philosophy of the Elizabethan erotic poetry in which he was so profoundly steeped. As a matter of fact, there is positive evidence that he did speculate about neo-Platonism. In an annotation in his copy of Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, upon the section entitled, *Love's Beginning, Object, Definition*, he makes the following comment:

> Here is the old plague spot; the pestilence, the raw scrofula. I mean that there is nothing disgraces me in my own eyes so much as being one of a race of eyes nose and mouth beings in a planet call'd the earth who all from Plato to Wesley have always mingled goatish winnyish lustful love with the abstract adoration of the deity. I don't understand Greek—is the love of God and the Love of women express'd by the same word in Greek? I hope my little mind is wrong—if not I could—Has Plato separated these loves? Ha! I see how they endeavour to divide—but there appears to be a horrid relationship.[7]

Despite this momentary distrust of neo-Platonism, however, Keats made it the aesthetic principle in accordance with which he composed all of his poetry with the exception of *The Fall of Hyperion* which is a revision of *Hyperion* under the influence of the humanitarian philosophy of Wordsworth.

The essence of this neo-Platonism, which Keats adapted from his Elizabethan masters, was a belief in a principle of unity that transcends the eternal flux of the material world. To the naturalist, who finds in sense-impression the only source of a knowledge of himself and of the universe in which he lives, there is nothing permanent, nothing absolute, in life, only a sense of the mutability of matter. But, since pure scepticism is the rarest thing in the world, since men are prone by nature to worship gods of some sort or other, the naturalist makes his obeisance to the Goddess Mutability, or to her

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 268.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

modern successor, the Goddess Evolution. Anatole France, a leader of modern naturalism, says: "We are fated to know things only by the impression which they make on us. . . . I have more than once glanced sidewise at absolute scepticism; but I have never entered that region. . . . I have believed at least in the relativity of things and in the succession of phenomena."[8] This naturalistic philosophy, as old at least as Heraclitus, has been throughout the ages the foe of man's innate faith in some divine principle that transcends the relativity of matter. Spenser, who saw the danger in a blind worship of the Goddess Mutability, said (*Faerie Queene*, vii, i. i.):

> What man that sees the ever-whirling wheele
> Of Change, the which all mortall things doth sway,
> But that thereby doth find, and plainly feele,
> How Mutability in them doth play
> Her cruel sports, to many mens decay?
> Which that to all may better yet appeare,
> I will rehearse that whylome I heard say,
> How she at first her selfe began to reare
> Gainst all the gods, and th' empire sought from them to beare.

Like Spenser Keats was intensely conscious of the eternal flux of life. In *Sleep and Poetry* (vv. 85-95) he says:

> Stop and consider! Life is but a day;
> A fragile dew-drop on its perilous way
> From a tree's summit; a poor Indian's sleep
> While his boat hastens to the monstrous steep
> Of Montmorenci. Why so sad a moan?
> Life is the rose's hope while yet unblown;
> The reading of an ever-changing tale;
> The light uplifting of a maiden's veil;
> A pigeon tumbling in clear summer air;
> A laughing school-boy, without grief or care,
> Riding the springy branches of an elm.

Since the neo-Platonists found no tranquility of soul in this mutable world of sense, they founded their philosophy on a denial of the reality of matter and an affirmation of the reality of spirit. The negative side of neo-Platonism, its denial of the reality of matter, is expressed by Shakespeare in *The Tempest*. When Prospero had dismissed the pageant of spirits which he had conjured up for the amusement of Ferdinand and Miranda, he expressed Plato's idea that the whole natural world is a world of sensuous illusion (*The Tempest*, IV. i. 149-58):

> These our actors,
> As I foretold you, were all spirits and

[8] Lewisohn, Ludwig, *A Book of Modern Criticism*.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

> Are melted into air, into thin air:
> And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
> The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve
> And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
> Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff
> As dreams are made on, and our little life
> Is rounded with a sleep.

The positive side of neo-Platonism, its spiritual affirmation, is expressed by Spenser in his *Fowre Hymnes,* whose individual titles are *An Hymne in Honour of Love, An Hymne in Honour of Beautie, An Hymne of Heavenly Love,* and *An Hymne of Heavenly Beautie.* Like the Italian neo-Platonists, Spenser reconciled neo-Platonism with Christianity by identifying the Absolute, the Original Being (τό πρῶτον), with God the Father; the World-Mind (νοῦς), with God the Son, according to which the νοῦς corresponds to the God-Christ and the λόγος to the Man-Christ; and the World-Soul (ψυχή), with God the Holy Ghost. Absolute, Divine, or Ideal Beauty, Spenser argued, exists in God alone; but God, contemplating his own beauty, loved it, and desired to propagate it beyond itself. In a series of emanations from God the Father came God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, angels, heaven, earth with man, animals, plants, etc. Each of these orders of creation possesses a reflection of divine beauty in proportion to its degree of emanation from the Godhead. Beauty, therefore, is the chain that links together the various orders of creation from the highest forms of spirit to the lowest forms of matter. Love, which is the desire of the generation of beauty, was implanted in the universe in its creation, since God created the universe because of his desire to propagate his own beauty. In the lower orders of creation, love is manifested as the instinct of procreation; but in man, who possesses more of heavenly spirit, it is not only the instinct of procreation, or the desire of the propagation of the beauty of the body, but it is also the desire of the perpetuation of the beauty of the mind, as in artistic creation, and in its highest form it is the desire of the reunion of the soul with God. In its essence, therefore, love is the desire of immortality. Although earthly beauty is only an imperfect reflection of divine beauty, man may rise from a love of beauty in material things to a love of divine beauty and from a love of a particular person to a love of God. This neo-Platonic quest, the quest of the soul of man to be reunited with God, or Original Essence, is attained in death, at which the soul, released from the body, returns to God, from whom it emanated.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

It may also be attained temporarily by man during his earthly existence by means of the neo-Platonic ecstasy, or state of prophetic vision, in which his sensuous perception of the ever-changing world of matter dissolves away, in which his soul puts off its garment of flesh and stands naked in the presence of the beauty of God. When men behold a vision of Sapience, or Heavenly Beauty, says Spenser (*Hymne of Heavenly Beautie,* vv. 257 et seq.):

> it doth bereave
> Their soule of sense, through infinite delight,
> And them transport from flesh into the spright.

In a long passage in the First Book of *Endymion* (vv. 777 et seq.), in which he explains the allegory of the poem, Keats states explicitly this neo-Platonic philosophy of beauty and love which he had assimilated from Spenser:

> Wherein lies happiness? In that which becks
> Our ready minds to fellowship divine,
> A fellowship with essence; till we shine,
> Full alchemiz'd, and free of space. Behold
> The clear religion of heaven! Fold
> A rose leaf round thy finger's taperness,
> And soothe thy lips: hist, when the airy stress
> Of music's kiss impregnates the free winds,
> And with a sympathetic touch unbinds
> Aeolian magic from their lucid wombs:
> Then old songs waken from enclouded tombs;
> Old ditties sigh above their father's grave;
> Ghosts of melodious prophecyings rave
> Round every spot where trod Apollo's foot;
> Bronze clarions awake, and faintly bruit,
> Where long ago a giant battle was;
> And, from the turf, a lullaby doth pass
> In every place where infant Orpheus slept.
> Feel we these things?—that moment have we stept
> Into a sort of oneness, and our state
> Is like a floating spirit's. But there are
> Richer entanglements, enthralments far
> More self-destroying, leading, by degrees,
> To the chief intensity: the crown of these
> Is made of love and friendship, and sits high
> Upon the forehead of humanity.
> All its more ponderous and bulky worth
> Is friendship, whence there ever issues forth
> A steady splendour; but at the tip-top,
> There hangs by unseen film, an orbed drop
> Of light, and that is love—

While *Endymion* was going through the press, Keats revised this passage and added the first four verses in which he states the neo-Platonic quest of immortality or "fellowship with essence," because he realized, on second thought, that an explicit explanation of his

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

allegory was necessary. In the letter to his publisher, John Taylor, in which he authorized the revision, he said:

> You must indulge me by putting this in, for setting aside the badness of the other, such a preface is necessary to the subject. The whole thing must, I think, have appeared to you, who are a consecutive man, as a thing of mere words, but I assure you that, when I wrote it, it was a regular stepping of the Imagination towards a truth. My having written that argument will perhaps be of the greatest service to me of anything I ever did. It set before me the gradations of happiness even like a kind of pleasure thermometer—[9]

If we interpret *Endymion* in the light of this passage, as Keats intended us to do, we see that it is an allegory of the neo-Platonic quest of immortality. To the question, "Wherein lies happiness?" Keats replies in words that Spenser might have uttered:

> In that which becks
> Our ready minds to fellowship divine,
> A fellowship with essence; till we shine
> Full alchemiz'd, and free of space.

In the passage quoted above Keats outlines four stages, or "gradations of happiness," through which Endymion must pass before he wins immortality—first, appreciation of the beauty of nature, or the "clear religion of heaven"; second, appreciation of the beauty of art; third, friendship, or sympathy for humanity; and fourth, love. He derived three of these stages individually from Spenser's *Fowre Hymnes* and *Faerie Queene*. His "clear religion of heaven" has its source in the *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*, in which Spenser defines the steps by which the soul of man may ascend progressively from an appreciation of earthly beauty to a vision of divine beauty which he personifies as Sapience, a beautiful woman who sits in the bosom of God. Keats's association of friendship with love as one of the richer enthralments that lead through the neo-Platonic ecstasy to the "chief intensity," or original essence, was suggested by the Legend of Friendship in the Fourth Book of the *Faerie Queene*, in which Spenser, following the argument of Plato in the *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*, says that friendship surpasses both affection for kindred and love for women because it is free from the fetters of the flesh. Keats, however, places love on a higher plane than friendship; and Spenser, indeed, in the *Fowre Hymnes* omits friendship altogether from his exposition of the neo-Platonic philosophy of beauty and love. Keats's treatment of the theme of friendship, although derived from Spenser, is modified, moreover, by the human-

[9] Forman, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 67.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

itarianism of Wordsworth which had begun to influence Keats as early as the composition of *Endymion*.

These four stages—nature, art, friendship, and love—constitute the four books of *Endymion*. The action of the First Book takes place in Endymion's Latmian principality. In its allegory, Endymion's quest of immortality through the clear religion of heaven, Keats distinguishes two stages. The first is a cult of natural beauty in general:

> Behold
> The clear religion of heaven! Fold
> A rose leaf round thy finger's taperness,
> And soothe thy lips: hist, when the airy stress
> Of music's kiss impregnates the free winds,
> And with a sympathetic touch unbinds
> Aeolian magic from their lucid wombs—etc.

The second stage in the clear religion of heaven is the worship of a particular person or thing, such as the moon, as a symbol of natural beauty. In the Third Book (vv. 142 et seq.), Endymion reviews in retrospect his worship of the moon:

> What is there in thee, Moon! that thou shouldst move
> My heart so potently? When yet a child
> I oft have dried my tears when thou hast smil'd.
>
> . . . . .
>
> And as I grew in years, still didst thou blend
> With all my ardours: thou wast the deep glen;
> Thou wast the mountain-top—the sage's pen—
> The poet's harp—the voice of friends—the sun;
> Thou wast the river—thou wast glory won;
> Thou wast my clarion's blast—thou wast my steed—
> My goblet full of wine—my topmost deed:—
>
> Thou wast the charm of women, lovely Moon!

When the action of the poem begins, however, Endymion had already passed out of this second stage; for an unknown goddess, whom he had seen in a state of aesthetic vision, or neo-Platonic ecstasy, had usurped in his soul the sway previously exercised by Phoebe, the Moon-Goddess.

The neo-Platonic quest is directed by means of the neo-Platonic ecstasy in which ideal beauty is experienced. These ecstasies, which occur at intervals throughout *Endymion*, supply the motive force of the action. At the beginning of the poem, Endymion had lost all his former interest in mortal things. After the Feast to Pan, when his sister, Peona, had led him to a cool silvan bower, he confessed to her the cause of his woe. One evening he had fallen into a deep sleep, in which there appeared to him an unknown goddess of in-

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

finite beauty who became his escort through the regions of the air. After he had experienced this vision of ideal beauty, which, as in the case of Spenser's Sapience, is personified as a woman of transcendent loveliness, Endymion lost all his former delight in the beauty of material things. "Away I wander'd—," he said,

> all the pleasant hues
> Of heaven and earth had faded: etc.

After Endymion had left his Latmian principality and had entered the underworld in his long quest of immortality, he experienced another vision of ideal beauty, at the conclusion of which he said (II. 904 et seq.):

> Now I have tasted her sweet soul to the core
> All other depths are shallow: essences,
> Once spiritual, are like muddy lees,
> Meant but to fertilize my earthly root,
> And make my branches lift a golden fruit
> Into the bloom of heaven—

The details of Endymion's ecstasy—the sleep, the dream, the vision of a woman of transcendent loveliness, the subsequent distaste for all other forms of beauty, the resolve to seek out the lovely visitor of his vision—were suggested probably by the details of Spenser's description of Prince Arthur's vision of the Faerie Queene, in which Spenser makes the neo-Platonic vision of ideal beauty the motive force of the prince's quest.[10] Prince Arthur relates his vision to the Redeross Knight as follows (I. ix. xiii et seq.):

> Forwearied with my sportes, I did alight
> From loftie steed, and downe to sleepe me layd;
> The verdant gras my couch did goodly dight,
> And pillow was my helmett fayre displayd:
> Whiles every sence the humour sweet embayd,
> And clombring soft my hart did steale away,
> Me seemed, by my side a royall mayd
> Her daintie limbes full softly down did lay:
> So fayre a creature yet saw never sunny day.
>
> When I awoke, and found her place devoyd,
> And nought but pressed gras where she had lyen,
> I sorrowed all so much as earst I joyd,
> And washed all her place with watry eyen.
> From that day forth I lov'd that face divyne;
> From that day forth I cast in carefull mynd,
> To seek her out with labor and long tyne,
> And never vow to rest, till her I fynd:
> Nyne monethes I seek in vain, yet ni'll that vow unbynd.

[10] This passage was marked by Keats in a volume of Spenser which he owned. Miss Lowell, who now possesses this volume, quotes the passages that Keats marked in her biography of Keats. See Vol. II, p. 567.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The action of the Second Book begins with Endymion's departure from Mount Latmos on the quest of the unknown goddess which led him through the regions of the universe. In the First Book Endymion had been suffering a mood of dejection and indecision. After he had experienced a vision of ideal beauty, he had lost his delight in the natural beauty of his shepherd principality, but he did not yet have the courage to sever the ties that bound him to his earthly existence. This initiative came to him through "airy voices" which he heard in states of ecstasy. One day, while sitting beneath a wild rose tree by a shady spring, he saw a bud which snared his fancy. When he plucked it and dipped its stalk into the water, it swelled and flowered, disclosing a golden butterfly in the midst of its petals. When the butterfly fluttered away, he pursued it over hill and dale until it dipped into a fountain near the mouth of a cavern, where, unseen by him, it changed into a nymph, who informed him that she had been his guide on this day and that he

> must wander far
> In other regions, past the scanty bar
> To mortal steps,

before he could win the unknown goddess of his visions. The bud, which in turn became the rose, the butterfly, and the nymph, symbolized the fleeting beauty of this ever-changing world of matter, which, despite its imperfect and evanescent nature, is the only guide by which man can be led into the region of ideal beauty.

After the nymph had vanished, Endymion prayed to Phoebe for inspiration; and, in the ecstasy into which he fell, he heard "airy voices" which commanded him to descend into the depths of the earth by means of the cavern beside the fountain. This underworld which Endymion entered is unlike any other underworld that has ever been conceived in the imagination of prophet or poet. It cannot be identified with the Hebrew Hell, the Greek Hades, or Spenser's Cave of Mammon. It does not symbolize the element of fire, as some critics have supposed; for not one gleam of fire is mentioned among its many marvels. The key to the specific allegory of the underworld of the Second Book is found in the passage in the First Book in which Keats gives a brief explanation of the allegory of the whole poem. In this passage, as we have seen, Keats outlines four stages, or "gradations of happiness," through which Endymion must pass before he wins immortality—nature, art, friendship, and love. After he has stated the first stage, a cult of the beauty of nature, he says:

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Then old songs waken from enclouded tombs;
Old ditties sigh above their father's grave;
Ghosts of melodious prophecyings rave
Round every spot where trod Apollo's foot;
Bronze clarions awake, and faintly bruit,
Where long ago a giant battle was;
And, from the turf, a lullaby doth pass
In every place where infant Orpheus slept.

The underworld, therefore, symbolizes the imaginative world of art—in particular, the world of poetry—into which man is led in pursuit of ideal beauty. Endymion's cult of natural beauty in the First Book is the necessary preparation for his cult of artistic beauty in the Second Book. This interpretation of the allegory of the underworld is supported by the nature of the marvels which Endymion experiences there (II. 249 et seq.):

wonders—past the wit
Of any spirit to tell, but one of those
Who, when this planet's sphering time doth close,
Will be its high remembrancers: who they?
The mighty ones who have made eternal day
For Greece and England.

These wondrous visions, which Endymion saw in the underworld, are the great mass of the perfect and imperishable beauty of art that has been distilled by great artists ("the mighty ones" of "Greece and England") from the imperfect and evanescent beauty of nature for the permanent delight and inspiration of mankind. The "mighty ones" of England are Keats's Elizabethan masters, Spenser, Shakespeare, Chapman, and Drayton. Keats's romantic love of Elizabethan poetry, indeed, made him think that the sun of English poetry had set at the close of the age of Shakespeare. In the Second Book (vv. 723 et seq.) he says:

Aye, the count
Of mighty Poets is made up; the scroll
Is folded by the Muses; the bright roll
Is in Apollo's hand: our dazed eyes
Have seen a new tinge in the western skies:
The world has done its duty.

Some of the wonders which Endymion experienced in the world of art are particularized by Keats. In the course of his wanderings in the underworld, Endymion encountered Venus and Adonis, the story of whose love symbolizes the "lovely tales" that Keats had read in the poetry of Greece and England. In his version of this old Greek myth, indeed, Keats adapted elements from Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, Spenser's Garden of Adonis in the *Faerie Queene*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

(III. vi. xxix et seq.) and the Greek myths of Persephone and of Orpheus.

In the Second Book the steady growth of Endymion's soul is made manifest. Just as his early cult of natural beauty had prepared him for his present appreciation of artistic beauty, so now his imaginative participation in the universal humanty of art prepared him for his later experience of friendship and love, the final stages in his progressive ascent to immortality. The humanizing effect of art upon his soul, which had previously been wholly absorbed in itself, is brought out vividly near the end of the Second Book through his meeting with Alpheus and Arethusa, whose "lovely tale" Keats had read in the poetry of Greece and England. When Endymion learned the sad story of their love from the murmuring voices of their streams, he forgot his own sorrows in sympathy for their tragic fate, and he besought the goddess of his pilgrimage to "make them happy in some happy plains."

The action of the Third Book takes place in the depths of the sea into which Endymion was transported from the depths of the earth. Endymion's adventures in the sea symbolize his dreams of friendship, or sympathy for humanity, for which his experience of the full humanity of art had prepared him. In the depths of the sea Endymion encountered the old man, Glaucus, in friendly coöperation with whom he restored to life all the thousands of lovers who had perished in the sea. After they had performed this humanitarian service, Endymion and Glaucus led the host of resurrected lovers to the Temple of Neptune and offered sacrifices to the gods. The Third Book, I think, does not present an actual experience of Endymion but his glorious dreams of humanitarian service—dreams which Keats himself had. In letters of this period Keats says that he is "ambitious of doing the world some good" and that he places his "ultimate in the glory of dying for a great human purpose." Keats composed the Third Book during his visit at Oxford with his friend, Benjamin Bailey; and his fusion of Spenser's neo-Platonic ideal of friendship with the humanitarianism of Wordsworth was due to the influence of Bailey. In his reminiscences of this visit Bailey says: "Wordsworth's Ode on Immortality was deeply felt by Keats, who however at this time seemed to me to value this great poet rather in particular passages than in the full-length portrait, as it were, of the great imaginative and philosophic Christian Poet, which he really is, and which Keats obviously, not long afterwards,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

felt him to be."[11] The growth of the influence of Wordsworth on Keats can be traced in Keats's letters and poems. In the revised version of *Hyperion* the humanitarianism of Wordsworth swallowed up temporarily the neo-Platonism of Spenser; but in *Endymion* the neo-Platonic philosophy of beauty is still the dominant ideal in Keats's mind.

The story of Glaucus in itself has an allegorical significance—the loss of spiritual ideals through sensuality, a moral that Spenser points again and again in the *Faerie Queene*. Glaucus, a young god of the sea, loved a nymph, Scylla by name, who symbolized the spiritual ideal of his dreams. He pursued her, who like all ideals ever eluded him, until he, wearied by his unsuccessful quest, sought relief in the court of the enchantress, Circe, and to "this arbitrary queen of sense" he "bow'd a tranced vassal." As a result of his sensuality, Scylla, his spiritual ideal, was slain by Circe, his sensual mistress. But he soon realized the nature of his servitude to Circe when he saw by accident the horrible shapes of beasts into which her former lovers, victims of lust, had been transformed. Sick with horror and disgust, he would have fled; but Circe divined his intention and condemned him to live for a thousand years in a state of palsied senility. During this period he rescued from a shipwreck a magic scroll on which was inscribed the prophecy of his future redemption if he performed certain tasks. These tasks were the Platonic discipline by which man rises from the particular to the universal, from the material to the divine, and the coöperation with Endymion in the humanitarian labor of resurrecting the lovers who had lost their lives in the sea. After he had performed these tasks, he was restored to youth and united to Scylla, his spiritual ideal.

In the Fourth Book Endymion returns from the "monstrous swell of visionary seas" to the earth, the realm of humanity, in which he meets an Indian maid who has strayed from the rout of Bacchus. He hears her sing in her loneliness the lovely song of sorrow and his heart is touched with the love that is born of human sympathy, for which his humanitarian dreams in the Third Book had prepared him. He feels that his love for a mortal maid has "stolen away the wings wherewith (he) was to top the heavens"; for it means, so he thinks, a betrayal of his worship of Phoebe, who symbolizes the spiritual ideal which he has sought in the realms of

[11] Colvin, Sir Sidney, *John Keats*. N.Y., 1917, p. 145.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

nature, art, and humanitarianism. He cannot, however, renounce mortal love, for such a renunciation is a discipline too hard for mortal man. But love, though based on the physical plane, can rise on the wings of the imagination to the heights of idealization. Endymion and the Indian maid, therefore, mount upon two winged steeds, who symbolize the imagination, and soar into the air of idealization far above the earth of reality.

In their flight through the air, Endymion and the Indian maid enter the region of Sleep and succumb to his gentle sway. It was Keats's conviction that there is a close connection between sleep and poetry; for it is in the visions of sleep, as well as in an ecstasy, which is itself a trance or waking dream, that the imagination reveals essential truth, and beauty, which are inseparable, and hence identical, qualities of spirit, which is the ultimate essence. "What the Imagination seizes as Beauty," Keats says, "must be truth—whether it existed before or not—for I have the same idea of all our passions as of Love: they are all, in their sublime, creative of essential Beauty." "The Imagination," he adds, "may be compared to Adam's dream,—he awoke and found it truth."[12] If we refer to Adam's dream in Milton's *Paradise Lost* (VIII. 452 et seq.), Keats's meaning is manifest. When Adam complained of solitude in the Garden of Eden, God replied that He had not intended for man to live alone, and He cast Adam into a trance, in which, says Adam,

> Mine eyes He closed, but open left the cell
> Of fancy, my internal sight—

In this trance, in which his body was asleep but his soul was awake, Adam saw a rib removed from his side, out of which under the forming hands of God a creature grew, who summed up in herself all that seemed fair in all the world. This lovely paragon faded from Adam's dream; but, when he awoke, he found her in reality such as he saw her in his dream. Adam's dream, Keats explains, "seems to be a Conviction that Imagination and its empyreal reflection, is the same as human life and its spiritual repetition."[12] In his identification of truth with beauty, therefore, Keats does not refer to the material beauty that is seen by the uninspired, mortal eye but to the spiritual beauty that is apprehended by imaginative insight, that inspired, internal eye, in a neo-Platonic ecstasy or in a divine dream in sleep.

[12] Forman, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 46-7.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

In this state of sleep, in which the ideal truth and beauty of the imagination are revealed, Endymion has a dream in which he sees a young man aspire to win immortality at high Jove's empyreal foot-stool and to espouse Jove's daughter. He dreams that the young man, who proves to be himself, gains entrance into heaven and consorts familiarly with the immortals. He dreams that he meets Phoebe, the goddess of his pilgrimage. "Then doth he spring towards her, and awakes," and like Adam "beheld awake his very dream." He is torn between a love for the ideal of his dreams, which has become a reality, and a love for the mortal maid who sleeps by his side. As a result of his hesitation, he loses both the ideal and the reality; for the goddess fades away and the mortal maid melts from his grasp and the steed on which she was riding sinks to the earth.

In this situation Endymion suffers the bitterest despair of his long pilgrimage; but, when he has suffered to the limit of his endurance, he is borne into the Den of Quietude, the region of apathetic revery, in which "pleasure has no show of enticement and pain no unbearable power."

> O wondrous soul!
> Pregnant with such a den to save the whole
> In thine own depth.

In this Den of Quietude Endymion falls asleep and fails to see a "pinion'd multitude" pass through the sky singing the pre-nuptial song of Phoebe, in which the deities were invited to be present at her approaching marriage.

At the conclusion of this song Endymion is borne back to the earth, to his principality at Mount Latmos, and he wakes to find the Indian maid at his side. He resolves to forgo visionary ideals and to content himself with mortal realities. He feels that his quest of immortality through spiritual means has been in vain.

> Caverns lone, farewell!
> And air of visions, and the monstrous swell
> Of visionary seas.

The Indian maid, however, refuses Endymion's offer of happiness on the mortal plane, because, as she says, such a life for them has been forbidden by divine powers. His sister, Peona, then, urges him to take up again his earthly duties as prince of the shepherds; but he resolves to live the life of a hermit, a seer; because, he says, although the pleasures of men are real, there is a higher happiness

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

that he can never attain if he takes an earthly realm. Endymion, however, has achieved his quest of immortality unwittingly; for he finds that the Indian maid is the Goddess Phoebe in disguise, by which Keats means that mortal beauty is a manifestation of immortal beauty and that it is through love for a mortal maid that man attains immortality.

In his development of the theme of the idealization of love, through which man attains immortality, Keats adapted the neo-Platonic religion of beauty in women, which he found in Spenser's *Fowre Hymnes*. Additional proof of Keats's assimilation of the neo-Platonic philosophy of beauty and love is found in his discussion of the origin, course, and effect of love. In the First Book of *Endymion* (vv. 807 et seq.) he says:

> its influence,
> Thrown in our eyes, genders a novel sense,
> At which we start and fret; till in the end,
> Melting into its radiance, we blend,
> Mingle, and so become a part of it,—
> Nor with aught else can our souls interknit
> So wingedly: when we combine therewith,
> Life's self is nourish'd by its proper pith,
> And we are nurtured like a pelican brood.

This familiar neo-Platonic description of the course of love, which is derived ultimately from sections 250-52 of Plato's *Phaedrus*, is found in all the erotic poetry of the Renaissance. In any Elizabethan sonnet sequence, from one to six or more sonnets are devoted to a description of the eyes of the poet's mistress; for it is through the eyes, which are full of heavenly fire, as Spenser says, that the souls of lovers intermingle and "Know each other here belov'd to bee." For his description of the course of love, however, Keats seems to have been indebted directly to a passage in Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost* (IV. iii. 290 et seq.), the pertinent part of which reads as follows:

> But love, first learned in a lady's eyes,
> Lives not alone immured in the brain;
> But, with the motion of all the elements
> Courses as swift as thought in every power,
> And gives to every power a double power,
> Above their functions and their offices.

The influence of love upon the characters and actions of lovers is stated by Keats as follows (*Endymion*, III, 92-102):

> O love! how potent hast thou been to teach
> Strange journeyings! Wherever beauty dwells,
> In gulph or aerie, mountains or deep dells,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

In light, in gloom, in star or blazing sun,
Thou pointest out the way, and straight 'tis won.
Amid his toil thou gav'st Leander breath;
Thou leddest Orpheus through the gleams of death;
Thou madest Pluto bear thin element;
And now, O winged Chieftain! thou hast sent
A moon-beam to the deep, deep water-world,
To find Endymion.

The direct inspiration of this passage has its source in Spenser's *Hymne in Honour of Love* (vv. 225 et seq.). When a man is in love, says Spenser, addressing the God of Love,

Thou art his god, thou art his mightie guyde,
Thou, being blind, letst him not see his feares,
But cariest him to that which he hath eyde,
Through seas, through flames, through thousand swords
and speares:
Ne ought so strong that may his force withstand,
With which thou armest his resistlesse hand.

Witnesse Leander in the Euxine waves,
And stout Aeneas in the Trojane fyre,
Achilles preassing through the Phrygian glaives,
And Orpheus daring to provoke the yre
Of damned fiends, to get his love retyre:
For both through heaven and hell thou makest way,
To win them worship which to thee obay.

This passage of Spenser, in turn, has its source in Plato's *Symposium* (sections 178-80), in which Phaedrus, citing Alcestis, Orpheus, and Achilles, as examples, says: "There is none so worthless whom Love cannot impell, as if it were by a divine inspiration, towards virtue, even so that he may through this inspiration become equal to one who might naturally be more excellent; and, in truth, as Homer says: The God breathes vigour into certain heroes—so Love breathes into those who love the spirit which is produced from himself."

But, although love inspires lovers to perform heroic deeds in its own service, it prevents them from striving after fame in the service of ambition. "Aye, so delicious is the unsating food" of love, says Keats (*Endymion*, I. 816 et seq.):

That men, who might have tower'd in the van
Of all the congregated world, to fan
And winnow from the coming step of time
All chaff of custom, wipe away all slime
Left by men-slugs and human serpentry,
Have been content to let occasion die,
Whilst they did sleep in love's elysium.

This conception of love as a deterrent to a "poor endeavour after fame" has its immediate inspiration in the *Faerie Queene* (V. viii.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

1-2) in which Spenser, alluding to the story of Antony and Cleopatra, says:

> Nought under heaven so strongly doth allure
> The sence of man, and all his mind possesse,
> As beauties lovely baite, that doth procure
> Great warriours oft their rigour to represse,
> And mighty hands forget their manlinesse;
>
> . . . . . .
>
> And so did warlike Antony neglect
> The worlds whole rule for Cleopatras sight.
> Such wondrous powre hath wemens faire aspect,
> To captive men, and make them all the world reject.

In justification of Marc Antony, who by sleeping in "love's elysium" lost the empire of the world, Keats continues:

> And truly, I would rather be struck dumb,
> Than speak against this ardent listlessness:
> For I have ever thought that it might bless
> The world with benefits unknowingly;
> As does the nightingale, upperched high,
> And cloister'd among cool and bunched leaves—
> She sings but to her love, nor e'er conceives
> How tiptoe Night holds back her dark-grey hood.

Keats not only conceives of love as influencing and molding the characters of lovers but he also conceives of it as the vital force of the universe. Love, he says, produces "more than our searching witnesseth":

> There is no lightning, no authentic dew
> But in the eye of love: there's not a sound,
> Melodious whatsoever, can confound
> The heavens and earth in one to such a death
> As doth the voice of love: there's not a breath
> Will mingle kindly with the meadow air,
> Till it has panted round, and stolen a share
> Of passion from the heart!
> (*Endymion*, IV.78 et seq.).

This theory of love as the vital force of the universe is not a passionate embodiment of airy nothings, a mere play of the poet's imagination, as it would seem; but it has a logical basis in the metaphysical principles of neo-Platonism, according to which, as we have seen, since the universe resulted from God's desire to propagate his own beauty beyond itself, beauty is present in all created things, and love, which the desire of the generation of beauty, is both the creative and the preservative principle of the universe.

In this analysis of Keats's philosophy of beauty, we have found that it contains all the important principles of neo-Platonism—the

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

principle of unity that transcends the flux of matter (Plato's problem of the One and the Many), the principle of beauty that links all things together in an ascending chain of perfection from the lowest forms of matter to the highest forms of spirit, the principle of love as the vital force of the universe, the neo-Platonic quest of immortality, by which man rises from a love of beauty in material things to a love of ideal beauty, the neo-Platonic ecstasy, in which ideal beauty is experienced, and the problem of beauty and truth. Although Keats did not originate his philosophy of beauty, he is as original as Plotinus, Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, and Spenser, to mention only a few of the long line of neo-Platonists who have transmitted to posterity the living tradition of Plato. By nature Keats was a Platonist, who seeks truth through imagination rather than through intellect, through intuition rather than through logic. As a poet he strove after the golden mean of art—the expression of abstract truth through concrete beauty. If we desire, therefore, to appreciate his poetry, we must understand the abstract truth that is embodied in his sensuous symbols.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

A FLEURY TEXT OF AVIANUS

By W. A. Oldfather
University of Illinois

Mr. E. K. Rand's brilliant paper[1] has recently directed attention anew to a justly celebrated manuscript, *Codex Leidensis Vossianus Latinus* Q 86, one of the principal sources for the Anthology and Martial, to mention two of its most notable works. This manuscript, because of the general style of writing,[2] Mr. Rand would ascribe to Fleury,[3] and is inclined to date its preparation between 850-890 (p. 266-270). The prevalent opinion hitherto, however, has been that of R. Peiper,[4] that this *Leidensis* is the actual manuscript described as no. 526 in the twelfth century manuscript catalogue of Cluny[5]; and although Peiper himself by dating it "s. viii" clearly indicated that in his opinion it was not written there, since, as is well known, Cluny was not founded until 910, Mrs. Frank,[6] relying apparently on some uncertainty[7] as to the date of the first part of

[1] "A Vade Mecum of Liberal Culture in a Manuscript of Fleury," *Philol. Quar.*, I (1922), 258-77.

[2] On this point I have no fixed opinion. The style seems a bit flat and characterless as compared with the *Reginensis* (to be discussed below), and it is certainly not the work of the same scribe; but a conclusion on this point I leave to experts.

[3] M. Manitius, however, seems to have been the first to connect the *Leidensis* with Fleury (*Gesch. der Lat. Lit. des Mittelalters*, I, (1911), 541, 2), being led thereto by the acquaintance which Theodulph of Orléans and Fleury (†818) showed with Martial and the Anthology, and later Lupus of the associated cloister of Ferrières (cf. Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, III (1920), 12f.)

[4] In his edition of Alcimus Avitus, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Berlin, 1883, lxiiiff.

[5] L. Delisle: *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits*, II (1874), 479; *Inventaire des Manuscrits de la Bib. Nat. Fonds de Cluni* (1884), appendix, p. 354ff.

[6] "*Vossianus* Q 86 and *Reginensis* 333," *Amer. Journ. of Philol.*, XLIV (1923), 67-70.

[7] The uncertainty really seems to resolve itself mainly into an opinion of Reifferscheid, for Huemer (upon whose estimate regarding a manuscript I should not place too much reliance in view of his careless work on the St. Gall manuscript of Avianus, *Wiener Studien*, II (1880), 158-60) in 1885 merely followed Reifferscheid, while in 1891 he clearly felt that the manuscript was earlier, since he puts it "saec. ix vel x," the "vel x" being due, no doubt to his previous acceptance of Reifferscheid's dating. F. Arevalus (1792) and Ludwig Jeep (ca. 1885), moreover, estimated the date as the eighth or ninth century. After all, this is really very little evidence to place against the practically universal ascription of the *Leidensis* to the ninth century, for Reifferscheid, though otherwise a good scholar, was by no means infallible when it came to dating manuscripts. In this connection I might observe that

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

the manuscript, which she was so fortunate as to discover and identify in the Vatican under the designation *Reginensis* 333, is sceptical of the ascription to Fleury and would seem to be not unwilling to believe that the *Leidensis* was actually written at Cluny (p. 70).

Here is where Avianus comes in. Mr. F. M. Carey, a former pupil of Mr. Rand's, has very recently discovered in the Vatican, under the designation *Reginensis* 208, the original manuscript of which the four leaves of Phaedrus in *Vaticanus Reginensis* 1616 were once a part.[8] This contains a complete text of Avianus, fols. 29-40, excellent photographs of which he was kind enough to send me. We possess, therefore, a text of Avianus from Fleury, of the "third quarter" of the ninth century[9]; and a comparison of this with the almost contemporary *Leidensis* might not unnaturally be expected to offer a clue as to the provenience of the *Leidensis*.[10]

It becomes necessary at this point to explain the general lines of the manuscript tradition of Avianus. A certain amount of evidence points to St. Gall as the seat of the oldest manuscript of Avianus, an illustrated copy surviving clearly from late classical antiquity

---

Dr. P.C. Molhuysen in a later communication (not dated, but received 18 Oct., 1911) which I unfortunately overlooked when writing to Mr. Rand (*op. cit.* 261), says "The Leiden Ms. Voss. Lat. 4° 86 is a 9th cent. 'Anthologia Latina'." (The earlier communication [9 Aug. 1910] ran: "Codex Voss. Lat. 4° 86 is a beautiful manuscript, beginning of the 10th century"). To the list of distinguished scholars cited by Mr. Rand (*loc. cit.*) who ascribe the *Leidensis* to the ninth century, should be added Otto Rossbach, who borrowed the manuscript and examined it very carefully and dates it as "aus dem Anfange des 9. Jahrh." (*Philol. Wochenschr.*, 1921, 475).

[8] From a letter of Mr. Carey (30 May, 1924).

[9] From the same letter. The Catalogue dates it "s.ix med." Mr. Beeson, who kindly compared my photographs of the *Leidensis* and *Reginensis* 208, is "inclined to think that the *Reginensis* is older," although he ascribes the *Leidensis* also to the ninth century (card of 20 Nov., 1924).

[10] It is unfortunate that we have no Ms. catalogue from Fleury from an early date, since that of 1552 (L. Delisle, *Notices et Extraits*, 31, 358; 426-39), which does not mention Avianus, is extremely summary, listing only 300 items, whereas Fleury manuscripts still in existence are far more numerous than that (*cf.* Ch. Cuissard, *Inventaire des Manuscrits de la Bibl. d'Orléans. Fonds de Fleury* (1885), p.xxxiiiff.). The catalogues preserved in manscript, Bern iiib and 433 (H. Hagen: *Neue Jahrb. für Philol.*, XCIX (1869), 510-2; reprinted in Becker, *Cat. Bibl. Antiq.* (1885), nos. 29 and 45) although claimed by Ch. Cuissard for Fleury (*op.cit.* p.xxxii and 209ff; *Cat. Général* XII (1889), iii-vi)—a claim which has been accepted by Th. Gottleib (*Über Mittelalt, Bibl.* (1890), 106f.) and M. Manitius (*Rhein. Mus.*, XLVII (1892), [*Ergänz.-Heft*] 110; *ibid.*, L (1895), 318; *Gesch. der Lat. Lit. des Mittelalters*, I (1910), 489,1)—cannot belong there. L. Traube (*Vorles. und Abhandl.*, III, 12;28) had cast serious doubt on the ascription, and Mr. Carey assures me (letter 22 Dec., 1924) that Bern iiib is from Tours, while 433 has no characteristic traits that connect it with any particular scriptorium.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

itself.[11] From this source it would appear that three families, or lines of tradition, descend, not counting the two fragmentary St. Gall manuscripts (see note 11) and the new Paris manuscript (see note 11), which seem also to be descended directly but I believe independently. These families are:

α, consisting principally of three very closely related manuscripts, *Parisinus* 13026, *s.* ix (originally of St. Germain-des-Prés); *Leidensis Vossianus Latinus* Q 86, *s.* ix, (the manuscript in question); Karlsruhe *Augiensis* 73, *s.* ix (Beeson), together with a few others of later date, which will not concern us now. This group descends from a faithful but unintelligent copy which had no author's name or title, disregarded the pictures entirely, and wrote out the fables

[11] This I infer from the following facts. (a) The oldest manuscript of Avianus is a fragment, *s.*viii or ix (Beeson), from St. Gall, now in Zurich, no. 68, and this manuscript, from the nature of its readings, which do not agree to any marked extent with any one of the three families, seems clearly to have been copied directly from the common archetype of them all. Precisely the same is true also of the readings of the eleventh century fragment of St. Gall (see below), which derives, therefore, from the same primitive source. (b) A copy of this archetype manuscript, at least once removed and perhaps twice removed, has recently been added to the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, under the designation *Nouv. acquis. lat.* 1132 *s.* ix/x (Beeson; *s.*x Omont), admirably published and discussed by M.H. Omont, *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, LXXXIII (1922), 5-10, who pointed out the classical origin of the illustrations. This manuscript, although written in France, contains six glosses in Old High German, of the extreme Alemannic dialect (J. Vendryes, *Mémoires de la Soc. de Linguistique de Paris*, XXII (1921), 273f.), an opinion confirmed by my colleague, Mr. C.A. Williams. Now the glosses in this manuscript were not composed for the work but were copied from the archetype, as is clear from the Latin gloss on 9.19, which is on a different form of the word from that which actually appears, but especially from the O.H.G. glosses which contain four slight errors of copying, one a *d* for *cl* (just such a manner of writing "cl" is followed in the Zurich manuscript from St. Gall), another a *yn* for *im*, which could not conceivably have been due to the original writer and were probably not in the old archetype, since for two of these fables (nos. 5 and 9), we have preserved the Zurich copy, which shows no trace of them. We have, therefore, to do here with a French copy of an Alemannic copy of the original. This Alemannic copy was a work of scholarship, being a pretty careful revision of the text but occupying an intermediate position between the three families, similar in general to that of the two St. Gall manuscripts and probably crossed, perhaps in France, with a manuscript of the β family (see above). Now at St. Gall there are still preserved two leaves from an eleventh century manuscript of Avianus, numbered 1396. Before each fable (none of which, by the way, is provided with a title), is left a space of six or eight lines blank, which can be for nothing else than illustrations that were never added, for the manuscript was never completed, the rubricator not even having entered his capitals for the odd lines. These are the only manuscripts which give any indication of early illustrations at all, and they point to a district in the upper Rhine valley, where at St. Gall a manuscript of Avianus *did* exist in the eighth or early ninth century, and at Reichenau and Murbach in the early ninth century (as we know from catalogues); so that in view of the great celebrity of St. Gall, it seems not unreasonable to believe that the cloister library there was the source from which all our manuscripts have come.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

continuously like a long poem, without titles or even numbers, so that some confusion resulted regarding the beginning and the end of several fables, especially in *Paris.* 13026, but also in the *Leidensis* and the *Reginensis* as well.

β, consisting principally of *Parisinus* 8093, *s.* ix/x (of unknown provenience[12]), *Parisinus* 5570, *s.* x, a fragment of Karlsruhe 339, *s.* ix (Beeson) (of unknown provenience, but practically identical with *Paris.* 5570), *Vaticanus Reginensis* 1424, *s.* xi (of French origin, very similar to *Paris.* 5570), and some half-dozen others, dating from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. This family is carefully edited, and has titles (or spaces left for titles), the fables being always properly separated. It seems to derive from an archetype in which titles (originally it would appear in the nominative) were a surrogate for the omitted illustrations. Manuscripts of this family are uniformly much emended and therefore differ a good deal from one another in details.

γ, including practically all the manuscripts from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. This family represents a popular or vulgate text, which dispensed with the introductory epistle but added voluminous glosses and commentaries and interpolated and crossed recklessly and without reason. One would be tempted to consider it merely a vulgarized and debased version of the β family, were it not that the occasional striking agreements with γ on the part of our two fragments from St. Gall (and in a quotation from Bishop Humbert of Ste. Rufine in the eleventh century[13]) indicate that some of its readings go back to a very early source indeed. It had neither illustrations nor titles nor numbers, but the first manuscript of this family was careful to distinguish between the different fables.

Now the *Leidensis* is descended from the ancestor of the α family, and is copied so faithfully that in scores of places it produces sheer nonsense. The *Reginensis*, however, although based on such a manuscript has comparatively few of the impossible α readings; and it, or its immediate parent, was crossed with a manuscript of the β

[12] Although this manuscript is without further qualifications called Visigothic by E.A. Loew, *Studia Palaeographica* (1910), p. 59, no. 13, that designation applies only to the first thirty-eight folios (S. Tafel, *Rhein. Mus.*, LXIX (1913), 631, 3), and the remainder is made up of portions of different age and format (*cf.* the literature cited in C.U. Clark, *Collestanea Hispanica* (1920), no. 653).

[13] Possibly also in one from Remigius of Auxerre (†908) (Manitius, *Gesch. der Lat. Lit. des M.A.*, I (1910), 512), although only a minority of the γ family (*i.e.* 13 manuscripts) show that reading to-day.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

family, so that it shows dozens of readings of the β family alongside scores of those of the α. That it is properly a manuscript of the α family, however, appears not merely from the marked preponderance of α readings but also from the total absence of titles, and the uncertainty in two instances (fables 7 and 8) of the proper point at which the respective fables begin. In addition there are 51 unique readings in the *Reginensis,* of which only one can possibly be correct, *Cytisi* in 26.5, which is an easy emendation for any Vergilian scholar, and appears also from the hand of a corrector in Wolfenbüttel 87,5 *Aug., s.* xiii, where it is obviously a conjecture. Of the remainder, 28 are sheer blunders, three may be excused on the probability that the archetype was hard to read, one is an incorrect copy of the corrected archetype, where both error and correction are copied, and 18 are barefaced emendations, every one of which is wrong, although some have a certain plausibility about them. The *Reginensis* is, accordingly, for all its great age and beauty of writing, a poor guide to the correct text of Avianus, and one should not expect it to resemble any too closely even the manuscript from which it was directly copied, if that should ever appear.[14] It is, in fact, nothing less than an edition, made with a degree of confidence and pride, which for Fleury at that age was far from inexcusable but which modern critical needs can only deplore.

Nevertheless, with all its variations, intentional and accidental, it stands very much closer to the *Leidensis* than it does to any other manuscript, although, of course, not closer to the *Leidensis* than does the *Leidensis* stand to its two old brothers which together with it represent the family, since large numbers of the peculiar readings of α have been supplanted in the *Reginensis.* Disregarding the scores of cases where the *Reginensis* and the *Leidensis* agree in a reading common to the α family, I find that the *Reginensis* agrees with the *Leidensis* in six peculiar readings, and with no other manuscript of the α and β families in more than a single one (and those apparently all casual). The six are:

7.1-2. These verses are treated as the last two of fable 6.

[14] Its record would be even worse were it not that some time, probably in the tenth or eleventh century, it was pretty thoroughly corrected (I think in about 180 cases, although here and there a correction might be due to the first hand), from a manuscript which was one of the prime sources of *Laurentianus Plut.* LXVIII, 24, *s.*xi, which is pretty certainly a French manuscript. In more than half of these cases the reading of all other manuscripts has been restored, so that the *Reginensis* as it left the hand of its author must have had something like 150 unique and demonstrably false readings.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

8.14 perpetuom: perpetuum αβ, perpetua, -o, -e, -am *alii*.

22.8 congeminate: congeminata, congemina ω.

28.6 propmtior *Reg.* promitior *Leid.* Here the common ancestor clearly had a carelessly written p over promtior, which the *Reg.* entered in the wrong place and the *Leid.* mistook for a different letter.

32.2 adnexos: et nexos ω (annexos two fourteenth century mss.)

37.3 non euides *Reg.* noneuides *Leid.* nonne uides ω.

To these cases may properly be added:

13.2 yrsutus, where only Sandanieli del Friuli 97, *s.* xv, obviously by accident, agrees, and

13.6 ohhuius *Reg. Paris.* 13026: obu//// *Leidensis*, where a corrector has entered -ius over what looks like the remains of an h. Very likely α had here, therefore, obuius, with an h above the line, which the *Leidensis* got in the wrong place.

That either manuscript was copied from the other, is excluded by the fact that the *Leidensis* omits two verses (21.8 and 25.16) and a number of words which appear in the *Reginensis;* while the *Reginensis* omits several words appearing in the *Leidensis*, and in particular is perfectly clear at the very outset, where the archetype of the *Leidensis* was almost illegible, as evidenced by the fact that of the first eight words two are omitted entirely and five badly corrupted. It is probable, then, that the *Reginensis* (or very likely its immediate ancestor upon which the crossing with the β tradition was presumably performed), was copied from the common archetype of the *Leidensis* and the *Reginensis*, while that was still perfectly legible; and that the scribe of the *Leidensis*, a few decades later, found this same manuscript much the worse for wear, especially at the beginning, but also, if we may judge from the combination of great fidelity and yet a considerable number of omissions and errors of deciphering, throughout the body of the work as well.

I see, therefore, nothing improbable in Mr. Rand's suggestion that the *Vade Mecum* represented in the *Leidensis* may have originated actually in Fleury, since this manuscript itself, as far at least as the text of Avianus is concerned, might very well have been written in the same monastery as the *Reginansis*. We need merely assume that for the preparation of this special work, which was obviously planned and supervised with care, as compared with the *Reginensis* which is merely just another text,[15] the scribe may have

[15] The large number of manuscripts of Avianus in the early Middle Ages

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

been directed to follow with extreme fidelity the very oldest available manuscript, whether that was already in the cloister library or had to be borrowed from elsewhere, and we should get exactly the relation which actually exists between the *Reginensis* and the *Leidensis*. And even if it can be shown that the *Leidensis* was written in a neighboring cloister, the impulse in any event is likely to have proceeded from Fleury, so that the net result is approximately the same.

If anyone feels that the direct evidence from readings, which connect the *Leidensis* and the *Reginensis*, appears somewhat scanty, I might add a few remarks about another manuscript of Avianus, which almost certainly was connected with Fleury but which resembles the *Reginensis* only slightly. This is *Parisinus* 5570, *s.* x, one of the chief representatives of the β tradition. On fol. 63a after an extract of 20 lines from a sermon, which follows the text of Avianus, stand the following incomplete verses:

Quos Martinus alit benedictio larga Tonantis
Augeat, exaltet, foveat semperque gubernet.
Corde pio pariter quod poscunt Floriacenses.
Pascite iam lacrimis uultum serenate (*sic*) doloris
Qui pietate patris

These I cannot identify, neither can Mr. Rand or Mr. Beeson out of their large collections; and they seem, therefore, to refer to a special event, which in this case is very likely to have been the copying at Fleury of a text of Avianus lent from Tours.[16] In any event

is due to the use of his fables, along with Cato, Theodulus, and others, as one of the most important authors by means of whom elementary instruction in Latin was given. For this important aspect of Avianus, which deserves and will receive elaborate treatment elsewhere, see the most recent study by M. Boas in *Mnemosyne*, XLII (1914), 17-46. Several mediaeval catalogues show copies of Avianus running from two to five, *e.g.*, Tours (5), Toul (5), Murbach (2), Cluny (5), Oberaltaich (4), Salzburg (3), *etc.* At Fleury, accordingly, we may assume the existence of several copies, for the zeal with which the monks of Fleury copied and recopied the authors already represented in their library is well known (cf. Ch. Cuissard, *Inventaire*, etc., p. xviff.).

[16] Less likely is the possibility that a Fleury manuscript was being copied at Tours, although Fleury distinctly occupies a subordinate position in the mind of the maker of the verses. Most probably the scribe copied verses originally composed for Tours, and added one for Fleury immediately thereafter, since I may add, that, although I am not expert in these matters, the style of writing and especially the frequency of ligatures (particularly ct, st, ns; even nt [9.1; 10.5;] and fl [16.4; 38.1]), suggest Fleury rather than Tours as the place of writing.—Since the above was written Mr. Carey writes that *Par.* 5570 "seems to be of the Fleury type, close to the end of the tenth century—possibly, even *s.*xi *inc.*; it has all the ear-marks at any rate" (14 Jan., 1925). The spelling of the name *Avianus*, instead of *Avienus*, as in the *Reginensis*, makes no trouble, for *Avianus* was the form employed by Alquin in his text

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Paris. 5570 belonged to an influential branch of the tradition, since, as observed above, it is practically identical with a fragment, Karlsruhe 339, *s.* ix, and stands very close to *Parisinus* 8093, *s.* ix/x and *Vaticanus Reginensis* 1424, *s.* xi (a manuscript from the Orléans district, according to Mr. Carey, letter of Jan. 14, 1925), and in addition is a principal source directly for the scholia in the *Bodleianus* B. W. Rawlinson III, *s.* xi. Now this manuscript, although representative of the Fleury tradition or at least heavily crossed with the Fleury tradition, shows very few notable agreements with the *Reginensis.* These are:

2.15, where a mark at the side to call attention to the moral, something like our radical sign, is represented in *Reg.* 208 and *Reg.* 1424 by the false readings hic and Hec respectively of the first hand. In a common archetype of these two manuscripts, therefore, the symbol must have resembled an h even more than it now does in the *Parisinus.*

10.12 aequeuę (for aequaeuae). In the great number of variations possible, this may be an accident, but, if so, it is a curious one.

13.12 at auri (for a tauri) with the *Parisinus* 13026 alone.

---

and notes at Tours and in the ninth or tenth century catalogue from there. See my remarks on Alquin and Avianus in *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.* XLII (1911), 116f., and add the actual entry in Caspar Barth's list of books at Zwickau and the old catalogue of the same in O. Clemens, *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen,* XXXVIII (1921), 281, 284. This particular manuscript has been most unfortunately lost. The spelling *Avienus* is due no doubt to an attempt to connect the author of our fables with a more celebrated name in letters (such a superscription as Aviani Festi in Bodl. Auct. F.2. 14, *s.*xii, being merely a conflation of the two traditions). The manuscript tradition is very strongly in favor of Avianus, even though upon this point we lack the valuable testimony of α (in the superscription of the *Augiensis* "Avianus" cannot represent α in view of the total absence of indicia of authorship in the *Parisinus* 13026 and the *Leidensis*). The ascription to Avienus I suspect to be of Spanish origin, where the local poet would in any event be more celebrated. This is in part substantiated by the fact that such a spelling (in the by-form "Abieni") is recorded for a manuscript of our author found by Bishop Eulogius of Cordova in 848 A.D. in the cloister St. Zachariah in the foothills of the Pyrenees (see his *Vita vel Passio,* Migne 115, 712f.—with a better text in Traube, *Poetae Lat. Aevi Karol.,* III, 124; G.C. Keidel, *Zeitschr. für Roman. Philol.,* XXV (1901), 724; M. Manitius, *Gesch. der Latein. Lit. des Mittelalters,* I (1910), 424). Although the same form appears a few years earlier at St. Riquier (with Micon in 825, see Traube, *op. cit.,* III, 282; *id., Rhein. Mus.,* XLIV (1889), 478; M. Manitius, *Rhein. Mus.,* L (1895), 318; *id., Münchener Mus. für Philol. des Mittelalters,* I (1912), 130; and for the catalogue in 831, Traube, *op.cit.,* 266), it is scarcely credible that such an item of "scholarship" should have traveled from France to Spain in this epoch, but rather it might have gone in the opposite direction.—For the correct reading of line 4 in *Par.* EEOJ, quoted above in the text, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Rand who examined the verses anew for me last summer.

[12] Forman, *op. cit.,* Vol. IV, p.46-7.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

36.17 felicius, an obvious emendation for felicibus, with Karlsruhe 339, *Reg.* 1424, and *Laur. Plut.* LXVIII. 24, alone.

This very short list of marked special agreements between manuscripts which almost certainly belong to Fleury, shows again how great might be the diversity between different manuscripts of even the same author, when there were a considerable number of them, as was the case with Avianus, at such a center of active copying and editing as was Fleury. It seems also to make more impressive as an argument for connecting the *Leidensis* with Fleury the somewhat longer (though still rather short) list of noteworthy identical readings in the *Reginensis* and the *Leidensis*.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

LE ROLE DU SURNATUREL DANS LES CHANSONS DE GESTE[1]

By ADOLPHE J. DICKMAN
University of Iowa

Cette étude considère cinquante-six chansons de geste, depuis le *Roland* jusqu'aux chansons du 13e siècle et même du 14e.

Ces poèmes, quoique différents et de formes variées, forment un corps d'une remarquable unité, et représentaient à leur époque, une tradition littéraire définie.

Ils sont prolixes et clairs comme toute littérature qui doit être facile à comprendre. Socialement, ils sont de l'histoire; car, si leur fonds est bien peu historique, ils représentent néanmoins la société du 12e et 13e siècles, son idéal, ses ambitions, ses habitudes, et l'esprit de conquête, de prosélytisme, de foi et d'honneur de ces temps.

Pour bien saisir, non seulement ce qu'est le surnaturel, mais surtout ce qu'était le surnaturel pour le public des chansons de geste, il faut que nous nous défassions de la sagesse accumulée de plusieurs siècles et de ce que nous nous plaisons à nommer nos habitudes scientifiques; nous sommes en présence d'un âge qui avait peu le sens critique et qui ne marchandait pas avec le surnaturel. Figurez-vous des hommes primitifs et passionnés, une nation absolue dans ses opinions, ils peuvent identifier leur cause avec la cause de Dieu. Ce sentiment de l'existence d'un Dieu qui s'occupe des hommes, de la réalité des miracles, quelques images merveilleuses, et tout un ensemble de faits extraordinaires que les auteurs des chansons ne pouvaient expliquer par ce qu'ils connaissaient des lois de la nature, voilà ce qui constitue l'élément surnaturel dans les chansons de geste.

Mais distinguons. Certains faits peuvent nous paraître plus extraordinaires qu'ils ne le paraissaient au public des chansons, sauts fabuleux de coursiers, coups merveilleux de cavaliers, force

[1] This short article aims to give the main points of a doctor's dissertation presented before the Graduate College of the University of Iowa (June 1925), and written under the direction of Professor S. H. Bush. The dissertation, treating of Old French works, is written in French, but the numerous quotations from the old poems are given in the text integrally in Old French.

This thesis will be published by the *Maison Bernard Grasset*, publishers, Paris, France.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

et valeur de certains héros, exagérations de bravoure en un temps où seule la prouesse individuelle comptait.

En revanche, il est d'autres faits que nous pouvons expliquer par des lois naturelles ou par de l'habileté et que les gens du 12e et 13e siècles considéraient comme surnaturels, comme ce cerf qui, poursuivi, trouva le gué du Rhin, dans les *Saxons*; Charlemagne y vit le doigt de Dieu lui indiquant l'endroit où il pût faire jeter un pont.

Puis, comme on avance, l'emploi d'éléments merveilleux, mais non miraculeux, devient plus fréquent; les auteurs font ce que font nos propres auteurs, ils essayent d'exciter et de renouveler la curiosité de leur public: ils se servent du surnaturel comme moyen littéraire. Mais il est rare que ces éléments soient essentiels au poème.

Cela nous conduit à distinguer deux éléments dans le surnaturel des chansons. L'un, le surnaturel chrétien ou religieux, comprend les croyances et les manifestations de la foi chrétienne, prières et leur pouvoir, pouvoir des rites, reliques et leur puissance, saints et anges, miracles qui manifestent la puissance de Dieu et sa faveur. L'autre, le merveilleux, qui est surtout, comme dit M. Faral, un merveilleux de description, comprend certains objets merveilleux par leur origine ou par leur puissance, armes, pierres précieuses, vêtements; certains êtres extraordinaires, géants, nains, fées et magiciens, hordes de païens repoussants; palais et tentes; un peu de magie.

Il arrive que ces deux éléments se mêlent assez étroitement. Pourtant, nous savons qu'une distinction s'établit, tout au moins d'abord dans l'esprit des auteurs, et la meilleure preuve que nous en ayons se trouve au début des poèmes d'Adenet le Roi *Bueves de Commarchis* et les *Enfances Ogier*; Adenet reproche aux autres remanieurs de farder avec le merveilleux la face de l'histoire; pour lui il restera dans la vérité et expurgera les chansons de tout mensonge. Il est à noter cependant qu'il fait usage du surnaturel religieux.

D'autres poètes, sans écrire de protestations, écrivent des chansons entièrement réalistes, tout au moins en ce qui concerne le surnaturel; mais il n'y a pas de chanson qui n'ait quelque élément religieux, prière, geste de bénédiction, miracle.

Comme nous savons que les chansons étaient par le public considérées comme historiques, il est intéressant de les comparer avec les chroniques de Villehardouin, de Joinville et Froissart. On peut juger, par de nombreux passages pris dans les chroniqueurs, avec quel sérieux et quelle bonne foi, ils parlaient des miracles, de l'effi-

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

cacité immédiate des prières, de la véracité des rêves, ou même de certains cas de magie ou de nécromancie.

Avant de s'occuper des chansons étudiées, elles-mêmes, il a paru bon de donner un petit résumé de ces cinquante-six chansons. En vérité le mot *résumé* représente quelque chose de trop complet et on l'a employé faute de mieux. On a rappelé les grandes lignes des poèmes, en indiquant leur tendance vers plus de réalisme ou plus de merveilleux. Ainsi une première impression se forme du rôle indispensable ou non du surnaturel dans les chansons: après cette lecture, on a tiré les conclusions suivantes:

Qu'il y a dans presque toutes les chansons, quelque surnaturel, surnaturel religieux ou merveilleux, ou tous les deux, mais qu'il joue un rôle assez faible, sauf dans deux ou trois;

Que les histoires en général se compliquent comme nous avançons et que la civilisation s'avance; et que le merveilleux a une tendance à se montrer plus fréquemment ou à disparaître complètement;

Que le surnaturel chrétien est presque constant dans les chansons, bien qu'il apparaisse sous des formes plus ou moins variées ou abondantes.

Mais quel est vraiment le rôle de ce surnaturel religieux ou de ce merveilleux: dans quelles circonstances apparaissent-ils, appliqués à quels sujets, dans quel sens ont-ils varié; sont-ils un enseignement, ont-ils modifié les caractères, ou ne sont-ils qu'un reflet de l'esprit du temps, une habitude d'esprit ou de vie? Voilà ce qu'il s'agit de déterminer.

Une sèche énumération de tous les exemples trouvés dans les chansons (classifiés sous différents titres, dans un *Index*) ou les classifications de détails de certaines thèses allemandes, donnent une fausse impression du rôle que joue le surnaturel dans les chansons; on perd de vue les circonstances, la longueur des poèmes, le temps très long sur quoi ces exemples sont disséminés.

Il faut étudier ces exemples dans les chansons mêmes, les suivre dans le cours de la chanson. Le merveilleux apparaît alors comme le côté coloré et splendide des poèmes; et comme le côté aussi, marqué d'ailleurs, plus sombre et terrible. Dès qu'on fait mention des pays d'Orient, viennent des descriptions fastueuses de châteaux et de tentes, d'automates ingénieusement agencés, de pierres et de vêtements merveilleux. Dès qu'on entre en bataille contre les païens, apparaissent presque toujours des monstres hideux que les Français à l'aide de Dieu et de leur force doivent vaincre.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Mais ces monstres une fois décrits, on ne les voit plus. De même prenez ces anneaux magiques ou ces épées merveilleuses qui se prêtent à des descriptions minutieuses et magnifiques, ils ne jouent de rôle que par l'ingéniosité ou la force de ceux qui les portent. Il est de même certaines princesses sarrasines qui possèdent des pouvoirs magiques; mais tout leur rôle dans les chansons est fondé sur l'amour qu'elles portent aux chevaliers chrétiens prisonniers; elles les délivrent non par magie, mais par ruse.

Il n'y a pour ainsi dire pas de cas de magie et ceci est remarquable en soi, car nous savons que les cas en étaient très fréquents et la croyance générale au moyen âge; mais il faut se souvenir de l'origine cléricale à la fois et populaire des chansons et aussi qu'elles étaient acceptées par le public comme historiques.

Evidemment, et on y insiste plusieurs fois dans le cours de l'étude, on ne peut appliquer entièrement les considérations ci-dessus à *Huon de Bordeaux* où le merveilleux est si bien tissu dans l'histoire qu'on ne saurait l'en séparer; de même il faut faire exception pour *Renaud de Montauban* et jusqu'à un certain point pour *Gaufrey* qui est une imitation de *Huon*.

Le surnaturel religieux est presque constant dans les chansons. Très simple au début, il est presque un esprit de croisade. Les rapports de l'homme à Dieu sont ceux du vassal à son suzerain, car l'homme du peuple n'y est pas considéré: dans le *Roland* par exemple, ou la *Chanson de Guillelme* ou la *Chevalerie Vivien*. Le rôle de cet esprit est simple: il pousse les chrétiens à la guerre, la seule occupation du seigneur, à la guerre contre le paganisme parce que c'est le temps des Croisades.

Ils combattent avec la promesse du paradis s'ils meurent, avec des promesses de butin s'ils vivent. La distinction n'est pas absolue entre cette vie et l'autre; ceux qui sont tombés en combattant les païens entrent immédiatement dans le vasselage d'un plus grand suzerain. Il y a confusion entre l'honneur et la religion, ou du moins ils signifient à peu pres la même chose. Fuir devant les païens, c'est à dire manquer au service de Dieu, est la honte suprême; le traître envers Dieu est puni de la même façon que le traître envers son seigneur; la belle conduite dans la mêlée, la prouesse individuelle qui assure une place au paradis, la peur de la chanson qu'on chantera, seul contrôle social, sont les grands ressorts de l'action.

Point de théologie, mais les formes les plus imagées du catho-

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

licisme, anges et saints, miracles, reliques; aucune n'est indispensable à l'action, bien qu'elles soient toutes vivantes et réelles, et que les reliques, dans le *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* et dans *Fièrabras* aient été la cause de la chanson. Les rêves dont les auteurs auraient pu se servir bien plus ne semblent être autre chose qu'un moyen poétique qui relie certains évènements ou les annonce d'une façon assez obscure, car ils sont allégoriques et sont généralement des rêves d'animaux.

Dans les chansons du début, il y a quelques miracles éclatants, généralement imités de la Bible. Plus tard, ou même à côté de ceux-ci, et présentés avec les mêmes termes d'émerveillement, quelques faits extraordinaires, ou considérés tels par les gens de l'époque, comme des nuées dérobant à la vue des païens des chrétiens en fuite, ou ce cheval dans *Aquin*, qui assoiffé durant plusieurs jours, retrouva la source qui fournissait l'eau douce à la cité de Quidalet. Puis il y a plusieurs chansons qui n'ont pas de miracle du tout.

La religion apparaît le plus souvent sous les formes quotidiennes les plus habituelles, prières, invocations, bénédictions, signes de croix, serments sur des reliques, communion, foi dans la protection de Dieu et dans son jugement. Il est extrêmement intéressant de noter le rôle très faible joué par la Vierge; lorsqu'on se rappelle le culte direct et passionné de Marie qui influença grandement les moeurs dès la fin du 12e siècle, on est surpris de voir le peu de place que la Vierge occupe dans les chansons de geste, poèmes d'expression populaire.

En considérant ces chansons, dans leur ensemble, nous voyons donc:

Que nous avons au début des poèmes peu compliqués, représentant une vie simple, une religion simple; il n'y a point de vie sociale, la femme n'y joue pas de rôle;

La civilisation avance et la vie sociale apparaît. A côté de la guerre sainte, il y a la guerre féodale; il n'y a plus que des descriptions de batailles, et de prouesses, mais des descriptions d'objets et de coutumes qui appartiennent à une civilisation déjà assez compliquée, des vêtements et des bijoux, des tournois, de la chevalerie avec une pointe galante. Le rôle de la femme devient réel; elle est l'égale de l'homme, et comme Guibour elle peut recruter des armées pour son seigneur; l'amour d'elle inspire des conquêtes, cause des guerres; pourtant cet amour délicat, charmant, galant, en dehors

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

du mariage et qui donna aux romans une partie de leur vogue, n'apparaît pas encore.

Comme donc l'aspect des chansons varie, varie aussi l'emploi du surnaturel. Vers la fin, les chansons prennent des airs de romans, et le simple et grand parallélisme de la lutte entre les chevaliers de Dieu et les païens qu'aide le diable disparaît peu à peu et presque entièrement.

Le merveilleux, assez rare au début, devient plus fréquent à mesure que les poètes en viennent à produire avec le but de renouveler la curiosité de leur public par toutes sortes de moyens; ils flattent le goût du peuple pour l'extraordinaire, et il n'est pas de chansons qui aient eu plus de vogue que *Huon de Bordeaux* et *Renaud de Montaubam*. Pourtant ils ont affaire à un public plus averti et qui sait distinguer le vrai du faux quand on le lui montre. Cette mode de mêlanger le merveilleux à l'histoire mécontente les plus sérieux des remanieurs.

Il semble qu'il y ait eu vers la fin de l'époque qui nous occupe une sorte de bifurcation vers plus de merveilleux ou vers plus de réalisme: des chansons comme *Raoul de Cambrai, Garin le Loherain, les Saxons, la Mort Garin, Aiol, les Romans* d'Adenet le Roi, *Hugues Capet* sont tout à fait réalistes; mais d'autres, comme *Doon de la Roche, Renaud de Montauban, Huon de Bordeaux, Jourdains de Blaivies, Hervis de Metz, Gaufrey* sont tellement remplis d'incidents et d'aventures où souvent le merveilleux se mêle, qu'ils ont un grand air de romans; pourtant le réalisme n'y est point absent.

En général, les chansons sont des poèmes réalistes, sauf quelques exceptions, où le surnaturel, religieux ou merveilleux, n'est que le reflet de la place qu'il occupait dans la vie des gens de l'époque. Elles sont remplies d'incidents brutaux, de guerres, de descriptions de détails dont quelques-uns sont d'un remarquable réalisme. Elles représentent la vie d'un temps plein d'ardeur belliqueuse, animé d'une foi fervente, avide de gloire et d'indépendance, où se montrent toutes les passions nobles et égoïstes. Plus raffinées et compliquées comme on avance, plus variées comme plus de gens et de classes différentes prennent part à l'action, avec un côté religieux à peu près constant et de temps en temps des éclairs de merveilleux, nous y trouvons à la fois l'idéalisme chrétien, source de sacrifice et d'héroïsme, l'idéalisme chevaleresque, source des vertus guerrières et le réalisme égoïste des aventuriers jaloux de gloire et de profits.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

INTERPRETATION OF THE FIRST CANTO OF DANTE'S *DIVINA COMMEDIA*

By Oliver M. Johnston
Stanford University

Midway on the journey of life the poet wakes from a protracted slumber and observes that during his sleep he has gone astray in a dark wood. He could not well report how he entered it, so full was he of slumber when he abandoned the true way. Leaving the dark forest, he reaches the foot of a hill whose summit is gilded by the morning sunlight. After resting, he tries to climb the hill, but a leopard so bars his way that he is often disposed to turn back toward the forest. Presently he sees a lion coming toward him, with his head high and fierce with hunger. Apparently the poet has a fair prospect of passing the leopard and lion, when he is met by a ravening wolf which causes him to give up all hope of the ascent. As he is rushing down to lower ground there appears to him the shade of Virgil, who asks him why he does not climb the sunlit mountain:

> Ma tu, perchè ritorni a tanta noia?
> Perchè non sali il dilettoso monte
> Ch'è principio e cagion di tutta gioia?[1]

When Dante appeals to Virgil for aid, he is told that, if he wishes to escape from the dark wood, he must take another road, since the wolf kills all who try to pass along her way. Her existence will continue until the hound appears who shall make her die of grief, and put her back again in Hell whence envy sent her forth. The road which the poets take leads them through Hell and Purgatory.

These opening lines of the Divine Comedy are usually interpreted as referring to the moral and political experiences of the poet. No one, so far as I know, however, has sought to connect their meaning closely with the meaning of the rest of the poem. In my opinion, the fundamental purpose of this introductory allegory is the prefiguration of the allegory of the poem as a whole. The first canto serves as a general introduction to the poem, and is therefore to be regarded as an outline of the main facts contained in it. If this interpretation is correct, the dark wood in which the poet loses his

[1] *Inf.* I, 76-8.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

way prefigures the Inferno, the sunlit hill represents the Mountain of Purgatory, and the sun is a symbol of Paradise.

The arguments supporting the statement that this introductory allegory gives an outline of the principal facts contained in the *Divine Comedy,* may be stated as follows:

1. Dante's strict adherence to the idea of symmetry throughout the *Divina Commedia* makes it evident that he intended to assign thirty-three cantos to the Inferno, Purgatory, and Paradise respectively, thus leaving the first canto to serve as an introduction to the whole poem.[2] That it was the poet's intention to observe scrupulously the laws of symmetry in the divisions of his poem may be seen from the following statement in *Purgatorio,* XXXIII, 136-141:

> S' io avessi, lettor, più lungo spazio,
> Da scrivere, io pur canterei in parte
> Lo dolce ber che mai non m'avrìa sazio;
> Ma perchè piene son tutte le carte
> Ordite a questa Cantica seconda,
> Non mi lascia più ir lo fren dell' arte.

The fact that the invocation in the Inferno is in the second canto and not in the first, as it is in the Purgatorio and the Paradiso, also shows that the Inferno begins with the second canto. Now, if the first canto is to be regarded as a general introduction to the *Divina Commedia,* it should contain matter relating to the poem as a whole.

2. Another argument supporting the statement that the allegory in the first canto gives an outline of the entire poem is the fact that the opening lines of classical epics state the general theme of the poem. The *Thebaid* of Statius begins as follows:[3]

> Of Guilty Thebes, to foreign arms a prey,
> Fraternal rage, and impious lust of sway,
> My daring Muse would sing, so Phoebus deign
> To prompt the bard, and harmonize the strain.

At the beginning of his Aeneid Virgil says:[4]

> Of arms I sing, and of the man who first
> From Trojan shores beneath the ban of fate
> To Italy and coasts Lavinian came,
> Much tossed about on land and ocean he
> By violence of the gods above, to sate
> Relentless Juno's ever-rankling ire,
> In war too, much enduring, till what time

[2] Compare Professor Grandgent's edition of the *Divina Commedia,* Inferno I, Argument; Vernon's *Readings on the Inferno of Dante,* I. p. 1.

[3] See W.L. Lewis' translation of the *Thebaid,* in the *Works of the English Poets from Chaucer to Cowper,* London, 1810.

[4] See James Rhoades' Translation, New York, 1907.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

A city he might found him, and bear safe
His gods to Latium, whence the Latin race
And Alba's sires, and lofty-towering Rome.

The opening lines of the *Pharsalia* of Lucan are:[5]

Wars worse than civil on Emathian plains,
And crime let loose we sing: how Rome's high race
Plunged in her vitals her victorious sword;
Armies akin embattled, with the force
Of all the shaken earth bent on the fray;
And burst asunder, to common guilt,
A kingdom's compact; eagle with eagle met,
Standard to standard, spear opposed to spear.[6]

In view of Dante's great indebtedness to Lucan, Statius and Virgil in other matters, it seems reasonable to suppose that he also imitated them in stating the general theme of his poem in the first canto. The extent to which the opening verses of the poems mentioned above state the main facts contained in them is not of prime importance. The essential thing to be noted is the fact that the entire introduction in each case contains matter that is developed more fully in the rest of the poem.

3. Resemblances between the introductory allegory of the Divine Comedy and the allegory of the poem as a whole.

(a) Resemblances between the *selva oscura* and the *Inferno*.

An important point of resemblance between the Inferno and the wood in which the poet loses his way is the fact that those who enter these two dark valleys are unable to escape without divine aid. Over the gate of Hell Dante finds the following inscription:

Per me si va nella città dolente
Per me si va nell' *eterno dolore*,
Per me si va tra la perduta gente.
Giustizia mosse il mio alto fattore;
Fecemi la divina potestate,
La somma sapienza e il primo amore,
Dinanzi a me non fur cose create,
Se non eterne, ed io eterno duro:
Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch' entrate![7]

The Inferno is also referred to as a place of eternal exile[8] and as an eternal prison.[9] That it is impossible for those who enter the *selva oscura* to get out without divine aid is also made clear. After

[5] See Sir Edward Ridley's translation, London and New York, 1905.
[6] Compare the first lines of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.
[7] *Inferno*, III, 1-9.
[8] *Inferno*, XXIII, 126.
[9] *Purgatorio*, I, 41.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

the poet had reached the foot of the sunlit hill he described as follows the dark wood in which he had spent the night so piteously:

> Così l'animo mio, che ancor fuggiva,
> Si volse indietro a rimirar lo passo
> Che non lasciò giammai *persona viva*.[10]

Exactly the same language is used in referring to the impossibility of escaping from the dark forest as in the case of the Inferno:

> Ma perô che giammai di questo fondo
> Non tornô *vivo alcun*, s'i' odo il vero,
> Senza tema d'infamia ti rispondo.[11]

Another resemblance between the dark wood and the Inferno lies in the fact that the three animals which so bar the poet's way in the *Selva Oscura* probably stand for incontinence, violence and fraud, the three types of wrong described in his *Inferno*. With reference to these beasts, Professor Grandgent says:[12] "These animals evidently stand for Dante's vicious habits, which prevent his reform. The old commentators interpreted them respectively as luxury, pride, and avarice; this would imply (unless we understand the poet's whole experience to be generic, not individual) that Dante's dominant sin was avarice, which is scarcely believable. A modern view, upheld by Flamini,[13] is, in spite of some grave objections, far more satisfactory in itself and more in harmony with the whole structure of the poem. Inasmuch as the sins of Hell fall under the three heads, Incontinence, Violence, and Fraud, it is natural that the beasts should stand for corresponding practices: the ravening wolf is Incontinence of any kind, the raging lion is Violence, the swift and stealthy leopard is Fraud. St. Thomas and Richard of St. Victor, two of Dante's favorite authors, saw in the spotted leopard a fit symbol of fraudulence. We may understand, then, from the episode, that Dante could perhaps have overcome the graver sins of Fraud and Violence, but was unable, without heavenly aid, to rid himself of some of the habits of Incontinence." So in the dark wood the poet is in the grip of the sins that he described in the Inferno. In other words, he finds the three animals of the dark wood represented in his Inferno.

[10] *Inferno*, I, 25-7.

[11] *Inferno*, XXVII, 64-66.

[12] See argument to *Inferno* I.

[13] See *I Significati reconditi della Divina Commedia e il suo fine supremo*, 11, 115 ff.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Regarding the *dilettoso monte,* Edmund Gardner[14] says: "What are the relations between this mystical mountain of Richard's treatise, the 'delectable mountain' of the opening canto of the *Inferno,* the ascent of which is barred by the three symbolical beasts, and that other mountain—the mountain of Purgation—which Dante climbs by another way under the guidance of Vergil? The ingenious theory, first propounded by Vaccheri and Bertacchi, that the *dilettoso monte* is materially (so to speak) identical with the mountain of Purgation, the point of departure under Vergil's guidance being in the Southern hemisphere no less than the point of return to the surface, has proved untenable. It would rather seem that the relations of the one mountain to the other are, more or less, those of the Eagle of Dante's dream (*Purg.* IX) to Lucia, and of Leah (*Purg.* XXVII.) to the Matelda of the Earthly Paradise. The *dilettoso monte* 'which is the source and cause of all joy,' finds its realization in the mountain of Purgatory, on the summit of which 'man is happy'." The main reasons for believing that the sunlit mountain that Dante sees while in the dark forest prefigures the Mountain of Purgatory may be stated as follows:

(1) The part played by the sun on both of these mountains is similar. In both cases it is recognized as a guide. The poet tells us that while wandering in the dark wood he reached the foot of a hill whose shoulders were clothed with the rays of the planet (sun) which leads men aright along every path.

> Guardai in alto, e vidi le sue spalle,
> Vestite già de' raggi del pianeta,
> Che mena dritto altrui per ogni calle.[15]

It will be remembered also that when Dante and Virgil reach Purgatory, Cato advises them to take the sun for their guide:

> Lo sol vi mostrerà che surge omai,
> Prender lo monte a più lieve salita.[16]

Later on Virgil devoutly addresses the sun as the sweet light that is to guide him along the new pathway upon which he is entering:

> O dolce lume, a cui fidanza i' entro
> Per lo nuovo cammin, tu ne conduci
> Dicea, come condur si vuol quinc' entro:
> Tu scaldi il mondo; tu sopr' esso luci:

[14] See Edmund Gardner, *Dante and the Mystics,* London, 1913, pp. 167-8.

[15] *Inferno,* I, 16-18.

[16] *Purgatorio,* I, 107-8.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

S'altra ragione in contrario non pronta,
Esser den sempre li tuoi raggi duci.[17]

The sun also seems to have given our poet hope and courage to attempt the ascent of the *dilettoso monte*, seen from the dark wood. When he beheld the sunlit mountain, his fear was somewhat calmed, and after resting a short while his weary body, he began to climb the hill:

Ma poi ch' io fui al piè d'un colle giunto,
La dove terminava quella valle
Che m'avea di paura il cor compunto,
Guardai in alto, e vidi le sue spalle
Vestite già de' raggi del pianeta
Che mena dritto altrui per ogni calle.
Allor fu la paura un poco queta
Che nel lago del cor m'era durata
La notte ch'i' passai con tanta pièta.[18]

Although his way was barred at the very beginning of the ascent by a light and nimble leopard, the hour of the time and the sweet season caused him to have good hope:

Ed ecco, quasi al cominciar dell'erta,
Una lonza leggiera e presta molto,
Che di pel maculato era coperta,
E non mi si partìa dinanzi al volto;
Anzi impediva tanto il mio cammino,
Ch'io fui per ritornar più volte volto.
Tempo era dal principio del mattino;
E il *sol montava* su con quelle stelle
Ch'eran con lui, quando l'amor divino
Mosse da prima quelle cose belle;
Sì che *a bene sperar m'era cagione*
Di quella fera alla gaietta pelle
L'ora del tempo, e la dolce stagione.[19]

On the slopes of Purgatory, Sordello tells Virgil that it is impossible to climb the mountain except when the sun is shining:

Ma vedi già come dichina il giorno,
Ed andar su di notte non si puote.[20]

Then drawing his finger across the ground he said that one could not even cross that line after the sun had set.

(2) The phrases Dante used in describing his journey to Purgatory seem to justify one in believing that the *dilettoso monte* prefigures the Mountain of Purgatory.

After Dante had tried in vain to ascend the sunlit mountain,

[17] *Purgatorio*, XIII, 16-21.
[18] *Inferno*, I, 13-21.
[19] *Inferno*, I, 31-43.
[20] *Purgatorio*, VII, 43-44.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Virgil tells him that, if he would escape from that dark wood, he must take another road:

> A te convien tenere altro viaggio,
> Rispose, poi che lagrimar mi vide,
> Se vuoi campar d'esto loco selvaggio.[21]

That the only way by which our poet could escape from the *selva oscura* was by passing through the Inferno is a fact stated repeatedly in the poem:

> Tanto giù cadde, che tutti argomenti
> Alla salute sua eran già corti
> Fuor che mostrargli le perduti genti.
> Per questo visitai l'uscio dei morti,
> Ed a colui che l'ha quassù condotto,
> Li preghi miei piangendo furon porti.[22]

After the poets had begun their journey, Virgil reminds Dante that he had delivered him from the wild beast which had deprived him of the *short* ascent of the beautiful mountain:

> Dinanzi a quella fiera ti levai
> Che del bel monte il corto andar ti tolse.[23]

The fact that the wolf deprived the poet of the *short* ascent of the mountain seems to imply that he finally succeeded in reaching his goal by taking a longer road and that longer road, as we have seen, was the one leading through the Inferno:

> Si come io dissi, fui mandato ad esso
> Per lui campare, e non v'era altra via
> Che questa per la quale io mi son messo.[24]

One seems justified, therefore, in thinking that the short ascent of the mountain refers to our poet's effort to reach immediately the *dilettoso monte*, a symbol of Purgatory, without making the longer journey through the Inferno. It seems clear that the main purpose of the allegory at the beginning of the *Divina Commedia* is to describe the low spiritual state of the poet which makes necessary his journey through the other world.[25] It is equally clear also that the *dilettoso monte* is the symbol of a spiritual condition which is the opposite of that represented by the dark forest. If this be true, the sunlit mountain should mean deliverance from sin. Certainly the

[21] *Inferno*, I, 91-3.
[22] *Purgatorio*, XXX, 136-141. Cf. also *Purg.*, I, 61-66; *Inf.*, I, 91-3.
[23] *Inferno*, II, 119-120.
[24] *Purgatorio*, I, 61-62.
[25] See *Inferno*, XXVIII, 46-61: *Purg.*, I, 61-63; XXX, 136-141.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

poet gives us to understand that the purpose of his journey is to win salvation. He tells Casella, the musician, whom he meets in Purgatory, that he is making his journey in order that he may return to this mountain after death:

> Casella mio, per tornare altra volta,
> Là dove son, fo io questo viaggio.[26]

In like manner, he tells Judge Nino in Anti-Purgatory that he is in his first life and that by his journey he is gaining the other life:

> 'O, diss' io lui, per entro i lochi tristi
> Venni stamane, e sono in prima vita,
> Ancor che l'altra, sì andando asquisti.[27]

(3) Reasons for believing that the sun seen by Dante from the dark forest is a symbol of Paradise.

Dante refers to God several times under the image of the sun.[28] In the *Convivio*[29] he explains the significance of the sun as a symbol of the Deity as follows: "No object of sense in all the universe is more worthy to be made the symbol of God than the sun, which enlightens, with the light of the sense, itself first, and then all celestial and elemental bodies; and in like manner God illumines first Himself with intellectual light and then the celestial and other creatures accessible to the intellect. The sun quickens all things with its heat. . . . and in like manner God quickens all things in goodness." Moreover, the Deity who is represented under the image of the sun is a symbol of Paradise:

> Prima che a questo monte fosser volte
> L'anime degne di salire a Dio,
> Fur l'ossa mie per Ottavian sepolte.
> Io son Virgilio; e per null' altro rio
> Lo ciel perdei, che per non aver fè.[30]
>
> Non per far, ma per non far, ho perduto
> Di verder l'alto Sol che tu desiri,
> E che fu tardi da me conosciuto.[31]
>
> Volsimi a loro, ed: 'O gente sicura',
> Incominciai, 'di veder l'alto lume
> Che il disio vostro solo ha in sua cura'.[32]

[26] *Purgatorio*, II, 91-2.

[27] *Purgatorio*, VIII, 58-60.

[28] *Purgatorio*, VII, 26; *Par.*, IX, 8; X, 53; XVIII, 105; XXV, 54; XXX, 126; *Convivio*, III, 1251.

[29] *Convivio*, III, 12.

[30] *Purgatorio*, VII, 4-8.

[31] *Purgatorio*, VII, 25-27.

[32] *Purgatorio*, XIII, 85-7.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Dicendo: 'Spirto, in cui pianger matura
Quel senza il quale a Dio tornar non puossi,
Sosta un poco per me tua maggior cura.'[23]

The allegory under consideration doubtless has a secondary meaning also. This secondary meaning has been interpreted in the three following ways:

1. The ethical and religious interpretation.

In the moral sense the dark wood in which Dante loses his way is supposed to represent the state of error and sin, the forest of wickedness, while the hill gilded by the morning sunlight is the symbol of the heights of truth and virtue. According to this interpretation the three beasts which hinder the poet's ascent represent his three chief vices; namely, lust, pride and avarice.

2. Political interpretation.

According to this view, the dark wood is the image of political tumult and passion, while the sunlit hill is the state of peace and prosperity. According to this interpretation, the three animals which hinder the poet's ascent and finally cause him to give up all hope of climbing the hill, represent the three powers that sent him into exile, namely, the Florence of 1300, proud France, and insatiable Rome.

3. According to a third group of commentators, the allegory at the beginning of the Divine Comedy has both the moral and the political meanings already indicated. For example, the dark wood represents the world of sin and is also the image of political tumult and passion. The sunlit hill is the symbol of virtue and truth and is also the state of peace and prosperity. In like manner, the leopard, the lion, and the wolf not only stand for lust, pride and avarice, but they also represent the Florence of 1300, the king of France, and the Catholic Church. However, the secondary meaning of this allegory, whatever it may be, does not alter my conclusion as to its primary meaning, namely, that it furnishes an outline of the main facts of the entire poem. The purpose of my paper is not to try to determine the secondary meaning of this introductory allegory, but to endeavor to show that its main purpose is the prefiguration of the allegory of the poem as a whole.

[23] *Purgatorio*, XIX, 91-3.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

BOCCACCIO'S ACQUAINTANCE WITH HOMER

By Cornelia C. Coulter
Vassar College

It has become almost a truism that the Renaissance in Western Europe meant, more than any other one thing, the letting in of a flood of light from Ancient Greece upon the darkness of the Middle Ages—the rediscovery of the exquisite harmonies of the Greek language, the subtleties of Greek thought, and, most of all, the Greek sense of the essential dignity of man in all the natural human relationships. In the foremost rank of the noble band of scholars who saw the light and endeavored to pass it on to others, we must place Messer Giovanni Boccaccio.

Boccaccio's interest in Greek probably began while he was still a young man at the court of King Robert of Naples. We know that the royal library included Greek as well as Latin works, and that the librarian, Paolo da Perugia, was counted among Boccaccio's honored friends. Boccaccio tells us of borrowing Paolo's compilation of extracts from Greek and Latin authors, and eagerly copying down everything that had to do with classical mythology (*De Genealogia Deorum* XV. 6). Through Paolo, Boccaccio became familiar with the opinions of Barlaam, the erudite monk of Seminara (*G. D.* XV. 6; cf. Ded. Epist.), and it is possible that he even learned from Barlaam himself the Greek alphabet and the meaning of a few Greek words. Two of Boccaccio's early works (*Filocolo* and *Filostrato*) bear titles that are awkwardly compounded of Greek stems, and manuscripts which he copied before 1350 contain some letters of the Greek alphabet and crude copies of Greek verses.[1]

But the impetus to a really systematic study of the Greek language came to Boccaccio, like so much else of the inspiration in his life, from the one whom he loved to call friend and master, Francesco Petrarca. Petrarch himself had begun the study of Greek under Barlaam, probably during Barlaam's second visit to Avignon in 1342, but he had hardly progressed beyond the reading and writing of the capitals when his teacher was appointed to a bishopric in Southern Italy; and before there was a chance to renew the lessons,

[1] H. Hauvette, *Boccace*, Paris, 1914, p. 363, n.2. O. Hecker (*Boccaccio-Funde*, Braunschweig, 1902, pp. 153-156) thinks that the Greek epigram on the last sheet of Boccaccio's manuscript of Terence was copied by Leonzio Pilato.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Petrarch heard the sad news of Barlaam's death. Some familiarity with the alphabet, then, was all that Petrarch ever attained; he speaks of himself in a letter to Boccaccio as an "elementarius Graius"; and appended to his rapturous thanks for a manuscript of Homer presented to him in 1354, is the touching confession: "Your Homer is dumb in my presence, or rather I am deaf in his. Nevertheless I rejoice even in the sight of him; and I often embrace him and say with a sigh, 'O mighty poet, how gladly would I hear thee speak!' "[2]

The two friends must have hailed as a special providence the appearance in Northern Italy a few years later of another Calabrian, a pupil of Barlaam, Leonzio Pilato by name. Petrarch met him in Padua in the winter of 1358-1359, and when Boccaccio came to visit Petrarch in Milan in March, he evidently heard of, or perhaps actually met, Pilato. In any case, he invited Pilato to visit him in Florence, and (undoubtedly at Petrarch's suggestion) set himself to the task of providing a complete Latin translation of Homer to suppplement the section of the *Iliad* which Petrarch had already secured from Pilato.[3]

Only the most ardent devotion to learning could have attracted one to such a teacher. Petrarch characterized him as a "great beast," and Boccaccio, writing about him years later, recalled his shaggy beard, his bristling black hair, his surly manners. Yet all this he was willing to overlook, in recognition of the "singular kindness" of Pilato in consenting to remain with him for almost three years and instruct him in the poetry of Homer (*G. D.* XV. 6). Pilato's method evidently was to read aloud a Latin translation of the Greek text, and then to add such explanations as seemed necessary, while Boccaccio, sitting beside him, took down the Latin version line by line, and made copious notes on his master's comments. "Although I did not understand it all," he says, "still I understood what I could; and there is no doubt that if he had stayed with me longer I should have understood more. But however little I learned from all his reading, still, with the aid of my teacher's frequent explanations, I understood some parts entire; and those, as occasion arose, I have inserted in this work" (*G. D.* XV. 7). In another place he says of his quotations from Pilato: "Whatever I quote from him,

[2] P. De Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, Paris, 1907, Vol. II, pp. 131-138.

[3] De Nolhac, *Loc. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 156-161; E. Hutton, *Giovanni Boccaccio*, London, 1910, pp. 191-193.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

I got from his own lips; . . . indeed, my memory would not have been able to retain all that he read from Homer, if I had not entrusted it to notes" (*G. D.* XV. 6).[4]

The translation so laboriously made was finished before Pilato left Italy in 1363; in 1365, Boccaccio sent to Petrarch that part of the *Odyssey* which dealt with the visit of Odysseus to the underworld; in 1367, Petrarch, to his unbounded joy, received the complete Latin version of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey,* for which he had waited "as long and as eagerly as Penelope waited for Ulysses,"[5] and immediately set one of his scribes to copying the text. This transcript, with marginal notes in Petrarch's own exquisite hand, is still to be seen in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (*Parisinus* 7780, 1 and 2).[6]

Boccaccio's copy of the translation has not survived, but we know that he still had it with him when he penned the last book of his *De Genealogia Deorum* (XV. 7: *Erant homeri libri mihi: et adhuc sunt*), and in that and his other Latin works we can find traces of the passages from Homer which he inserted "as occasion arose." In the *Genealogia,* Homer is quoted by name, and (with very few exceptions) specific reference is made to either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey.* The sole example of a reference to a specific book is in *G. D.* IX. 3, where Boccaccio prefixes to his story of the love of Mars and Venus the sentence: *Talem fabulam homerus viii recitat odysseae.* There are in the *Genealogia* almost fifty direct quotations, besides a number of close paraphrases and passages in which the use of Homeric material is evident. Even without the mention of Homer's name, there could be little doubt as to the source of Boccaccio's statement: "The ancients pictured [the Sirens] in meadows, among the bones of the men that they had slain" (*G. D.* VII. 20; cf. *Od.* XII. 44-46); and almost every detail of the story of Polyphemus recalls Odysseus' own narrative of his adventures (*G. D.* X. 14).

In the other treatises, though Boccaccio regularly omits the names of his authorities, it is possible to recognize Homeric material. For instance, in writing about Cassandra's death in *G. D.* VI. 16, Boccaccio says: "Hence it came about, as Homer testifies in the *Odys-*

[4] The fanciful details about the life of Homer which Boccaccio gives us in *G.D.* XIV. 19 and *Com. on Dante* 12 may also have been derived from Pilato.

[5] Petrarch, *Fam.* XXIV. 12 (quoted in De Nolhac, *Loc. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 159).

[6] De Nolhac, *Loc. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 161-167.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

sey, that Agamemnon was murdered at a banquet by Aegisthus and Clytemnestra, and [Cassandra] herself was put to death at the command of Clytemnestra" (cf. *Od.* XI. 409-423); and these same details are given in Chapters 33 and 34 of the *De Claris Mulieribus*, under the names of Cassandra and Clytemnestra. The statement that after the murder of Agamemnon Clytemnestra ruled with Aegisthus for seven years, and then, when Orestes grew up, he avenged his father's murder by killing his mother and her lover (*C. M.* 34) is so much like the story told by Nestor in *Od.* III. 304-310 as to warrant the assumption of Homer as a source. And the famous scene from the third book of the *Iliad* inevitably rises before the eyes of one who reads: "Indeed Helen was well able to see the power of her beauty, as she looked out from the walls of the besieged city and beheld all the shore thronged with the enemy, the whole region round about laid waste with fire and sword, the people advancing to battle and dying by each other's hands, and Greek and Trojan blood defiling everything" (*C. M.* 35).

Only one section of the *De Casibus Illustrium Virorum* treats Homeric material at length—the chapter of Book I which tells the story of Priam and Hecuba as a warning against pride. Echoes of the second book of the *Aeneid* are there, together with bits of the late legends that found their way into the commentary of Servius, and allusions to the fate of Troilus, so famous in mediaeval story; but the Homeric basis of the story is still apparent. Boccaccio pictures Priam, a prince of glorious lineage, wedded to Hecuba, who surpassed all the women of her time in beauty and modesty,—the father of valiant sons, the lord of a splendid city in which the wealth of almost all Asia was gathered. Then in a few swift sentences he tells of Priam's demand for Hesione and of Telamon's refusal, of the counter expedition that carried off Helen, of the oath of the Greek chieftains and the assembling of the fleet against Troy. The kings who came to Priam's aid were killed and their followers slaughtered; Hector, in whose valor rested all hope for the safety of the state, was struck down before his father's eyes, his body fastened to the victor's chariot and dragged through the dust about the city walls and then left for twelve days unburied, until "he who in his youth had been wont to demand tribute of kings, in old age was compelled to go as a suppliant to the enemy's camp and beg the slayer of his son to give him the corse in return for priceless gifts." And then, after the Palladium had been stolen and all hope of safety

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

was gone, the Greeks entered Ilium by craft at night, and Priam heard the roar of flames and the shouts of the enemy; and at last, pierced by the same sword that had slain his youngest son, defiling with his own blood the altars that he himself had consecrated, the old man breathed forth his proud soul, outworn with age and grief. Hecuba, too, was overcome, not so much by length of days as by ceaseless weeping over the untimely death of her children, the loss of her lord, and the desolation of the whole realm. "She who had but lately had so many sons, so many daughters-in-law, so many handmaidens, found herself sad and tearful, despised because of her age, left alone by the enemy, without hope of succor or refuge or the aid of a single attendant or comforter," and was seized with sudden madness. "This, then," Boccaccio concludes, "was the end of the royal pair, of such splendid birth, such lofty fame; and all the wealth that many generations had amassed, one day reduced to dust and ashes."

In the geographical dictionary which bears the high-sounding title: *De Montibus, Silvis, Fontibus, Lacubus, Fluminibus, Stagnis seu Paludibus, de nominibus Maris* we find two notices of Oceanus, one under *De Fluminibus,* with a mention of Homer's name, the other under *De Maribus,* with material closely related to that quoted from the *Iliad* in *G. D.* VII. 19; and in the paragraph on Mount Ida, the rivers Scamander, Xanthus, and Simois are mentioned as streams "great in fame rather than in the size of their waters." Elsewhere Boccaccio notes that Hector called his son Astyanax by the name of the first of these rivers—an obvious reminiscence of *Iliad* VI. 402 (*De Flum.* under *Camander* [*sic*]).

Such references in the *De Montibus* are necessarily few, and in the *De Claris Mulieribus* and *De Casibus* the use of Homeric material is of course limited to sections dealing with the Trojan cycle. The *Genealogia Deorum,* on the contrary, afforded frequent opportunity for Homeric quotation, and accordingly we find extensive use of both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* throughout its thirteen mythological books. The most numerous quotations are in Book VI, which is devoted to Dardanus and his race—where Boccaccio has gone to particular pains to collect every item that might have any bearing on the family of Priam. In the tenth book, which includes the royal family of the Phaeacians, and in the twelfth, where Agamemnon and his family appear, there is also considerable Homeric material.[7]

[7] In the *Comento, Lezione prima,* Boccaccio discusses the route to the under-

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Boccaccio's method is to quote the Greek text of the passage in question, followed by a Latin translation.[8] Sometimes he gives the setting of a phrase, or paraphrases beyond the close of an actual quotation. Certain facts about Polypoetes are given on the authority of Homer "in catalogo Graecorum" (*G. D.* IX. 34; cf. *Il.* II. 738-747). To the quotation of *Iliad* XVIII. 399:

Eurynome filia retro fluentis oceani

is added the statement: "When Homer speaks of her, he introduces Vulcan talking to Thetis, at the time when she asks for armor for Achilles; and in order to show his willingness, Vulcan says that when he was cast out of heaven (by his mother) because he was lame, he was rescued and cared for by Eurynome herself and Thetis" (*G. D.* VII. 2). And before quoting *Il.* XXIV, 765-766:

Iam certe nunc mihi hic xx annus
Ex quo ab illinc veni: et a mea recessi patria,

to prove that Helen spent twenty years in Troy, Boccaccio explains that Homer gives this information "near the end of the *Iliad*, where he introduces Helen with Hecuba and the other Trojan women mourning over the dead body of Hector" (*G. D.* XI. 8).

Long sections are frequently paraphrased or summarized. Boccaccio states that Agamemnon was king of Mycenae and successor of Thyestes—"an opinion with which Homer seems to agree in the *Iliad* when he writes a long passage (*multos versus*) about the scepter of Agamemnon to this effect (*fere hoc dicentes*)"; then follows a fairly close summary of *Il.* II. 100-108 (*G. D.* XII. 15). The wanderings of Odysseus, "as he himself recounts them in the *Odyssey* to Alcinous, king of the Phaeacians," are briefly outlined (*G. D.* XI. 40); and the history of Lycurgus (*G. D.* XI. 22), the exploits of Diomedes (*G. D.* IX. 22) and the mighty deeds of the river Xanthus against the Greeks (*G. D.* XI. 14) are treated in the same way.

world, as described by Homer, "nel lib. XI della sua Odissea," and in other "lectures" he repeats, with the mention of Homer's name, items which had already been given in the Latin works—e.g., the stories of Hector (*Com.* 14; *G.D.* VI. 24), Helen (*Com.* 18; *G.D.* XI. 8; *C.M.* 35), and Achilles (*Com.* 18; *G.D.* XII. 52), and the account of the girdle of Venus (*Com.* 22; *G.D.* III. 22). Cf. P. Toynbee, "Boccaccio's Commentary on the 'Divina Commedia'," in *Mod. Lang. Rev.* 2 (1907), pp. 117-118; Hutton, *Loc. cit.* pp. 275-276.

[8] Both the Greek and the Latin versions appear in the autograph manuscript of the *Genealogia Deorum* now in the Laurentian Library; but the Greek quotations proved too difficult for the typesetters of the early printed editions, and soon dropped out. See O. Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde*, pp. 137-138; E.H. Wilkins, "The Genealogy of the Editions of the *Genealogia Deorum*," in *Mod. Phil.*, XVII (1919), p. 68.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

There can be no question that Boccaccio searched the text of Homer diligently to supply his readers with every possible bit of information. He is much distressed that all his investigations about Nausithous merely show that he was the father of Rhexenor and Alcinous (*G. D.* X. 17), and that certain members of the royal house of Troy prove to be "bare names" (*G. D.* VI. 9, 12, 42). In one case, where the facts are not forthcoming, he has allowed himself a flight of fancy. After stating that some of Priam's fifty children were born of concubines, he writes about Laodice, "Priami filiarum specie optimam," and then adds, "I think that she was *Hecuba's* daughter" (*G. D.* VI. 18); and the reader is left wondering whether it was simply the fairness of the lady's face that led Boccaccio to assign to her this unmixed royal lineage.

In several places, Boccaccio has combined details from different parts of the Homeric poems in order to make his narrative complete. In his account of the river Axius (*G. D.* VII. 52), he quotes *Il.* II. 849-850, which gives the location of the river, and then paraphrases *Il.* XXI. 141-143, which tells of the love of Axius for Periboea. The chapter on Agamemnon contains the famous "descent of the scepter" from *Iliad* II, an allusion to the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles, and the story of Agamemnon's death, as Menelaus tells it to Telemachus in *Od.* IV. 512-537 (*G. D.* XII. 15). Boccaccio shows some capability too of going beyond the bare statement of facts in his text. A passage of the *Iliad* which refers to Poseidon simply as εὐρὺ κρείων ἐνοσίχθων (*Il.* XI. 750-752) is quite properly brought into connection with Neptune (*G. D.* X. 23), and the inference that Apollo was the god of pestilence as well as of healing is apparently drawn from the opening lines of the *Iliad* (*G. D.* V. 3; cf. X. 18).

Some weighing of authorities and balancing of evidence is also to be found. Boccaccio is familiar with the story of Polydorus, son of Hecuba and Priam, whose death at the hands of the treacherous Polymnestor was the theme of Euripides' tragedy; and therefore when he finds in Homer a Polydorus who was the son of Priam and Laothoë and was brutally slain by Achilles (*Il.* XX. 406-418; XXI. 74-91), he quite naturally concludes that Priam must have had two sons of that name (*G. D.* VI. 30, 31). He notes that Homer's description of Scylla differs from Vergil's (*G. D.* X. 9); and under the word *Oceanus* in *De Fluminibus* he announces that, although some people think this name applies to a river in the extreme west,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

he himself, "after a careful study of Homer's phrasing, believes Oceanus to be, not a river, but the sea."

The specimens of the Latin translation of Homer which Boccaccio quotes furnish a sorry commentary on both Boccaccio's and his teacher's knowledge of Greek. In most cases the version keeps awkwardly close to the Greek idiom. In the translation of *Il.* XV. 188, the epithet of Hades, ἐνέροισιν ἀνάσσων, is rendered by *mortuis dominans*, in an exactly parallel construction (*G. D.* X. 1). *Il.* VI. 130:

οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ Δρύαντος υἱὸς κρατερὸς Λυκόοργος

is represented by

neque enim *neque* dryantis filius fortis lycurgus

(*G. D.* XI. 22). And in the description of Scylla, the phrases *catuli nuper geniti, plenis nigra morte*, and *piscari* are the exact equivalents of σκύλακος νεογιλῆς, πλεῖοι μέλανος θανάτοιο, and ἰχθυάᾳ (*G. D.* X. 9; cf. *Od.* XII. 85-96). Sometimes a Greek epithet is simply transliterated—sure proof that it was not understood. The adjective πολυΐππου, applied to Mentor in *Il.* XIII. 171, is taken over into Latin as a proper noun and assumed to be the name of Mentor's son (*G. D.* VI. 20); and in the history of Agamemnon's scepter, διακτόρῳ and πληξίππῳ (*Il.* II. 103-104) are treated in similar fashion (*G. D.* XII. 15). Equally damning are passages in which the Greek and the Latin of Boccaccio's autograph altogether fail to correspond. Hecker has noted a number of these cases, the most startling of which occurs in *G. D.* VI. 33, where, in quoting *Il.* XI. 101-104, Boccaccio does not translate the first line of his Greek, and omits the Greek equivalent of *filios duos priami nothum et legitumum.*[9]

To be sure, an occasional Greek word is correctly explained. The famous "No-man" incident of the Odyssey, for instance, is stated thus: "Se *utim* (i.e., οὔτιν) vocari respondit: quod latine sonat nullus" (*G. D.* X. 14). But in general it is obvious that Boccaccio did not understand the Greek text. His autograph copy of the *Genealogia Deorum* shows omissions and transpositions of letters which would have been quite impossible to anyone who had even an elementary knowledge of individual Greek words, and which in-

[9] On the whole question of Boccaccio's quotations from Homer, see the discussion in Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde*, pp. 137-153, which is the authority for all statements about the autograph in this article.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

dicate that he must have followed the text of his Greek manuscript blindly, with only the most general notion of its meaning. In some cases it is even possible to reconstruct the faulty text of this Greek manuscript from the mistakes which Boccaccio has preserved. His transliteration of *Il.* XIII. 172 δὲ Πήδαιον as *ipideon,* together with his transcript of the Greek, points to a form δ'ἐπήδαιον in the original manuscript (*G. D.* VI. 20), and his spellings *Politon* and *Aganonem,* for Πολίτην and ἀγανόν in *Il.* XXIV. 250, 251, agree with the incorrect πολιτον and ἀγανον (circumflex over first ν) in his Greek text (*G.D.* VI. 42). *Od.* VII. 56 is cited twice in the *Genealogia,* and in both cases Boccaccio's spelling of the name Ποσειδάων indicates that an extra letter stood between the α and the ω in his copy. In *G. D.* VIII. 16 he writes -άμων; in *G. D.* X. 17 -άαων — which, as Hecker remarks, is significant for his knowledge of Greek.

Scholars like Hecker are quite justified in depreciating Boccaccio's knowledge of the Greek language. But even granting this, his achievements were such as to deserve some recognition from readers of to-day. It was no slight thing, in those days of second-hand information, to realize the value of going back to the fountain-head. This principle Boccaccio defends stoutly, in the face of criticism; and he lists with pardonable pride his services to scholarship: "Was not I the one who, when Leonzio Pilato was setting out from Venice to Avignon, . . . induced him to change his plans and kept him in my native city? Was it not I who received him into my own house and kept him there for a long time as my guest, and after great effort brought it about that he should be enrolled among the professors of Florence? . . . I was the one who first at my own expense brought back Homer and certain other Greeks to Etruria, whence they had departed many centuries before, meaning never to return. And not to Etruria alone did I bring them, but to my own native city. I was the first of the Italians to hear Leonzio Pilato lecture in private on the *Iliad,* and I brought it about that public lectures were given on the works of Homer" (*G. D.* XV. 7).

"The first of the Italians" to read Greek literature! Surely the title is well deserved. For slight as his knowledge was, it gave him a first-hand contact with Homer such as no man in Western Europe had had for centuries. One who made this contact through the medium of Pilato's execrable Latin could hardly be expected to appreciate the dignity and beauty of Homer's style; but at least Boccaccio had mastered the subject-matter of the poems and had

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

the details well enough in hand so that he could quote a line or paraphrase a longer passage to prove his point; and his vivid retelling of certain stories proves that he had caught something of the spirit of the Greek. The difficulties against which he struggled were enormous, and his achievements in the face of those difficulties truly heroic. Therefore to Boccaccio, as the pioneer Greek student of the modern world, we students of to-day owe grateful admiration.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

HEINE'S *HARZREISE* ONCE MORE

By C. H. IBERSHOFF
University of Iowa

Some time ago while I was consulting a volume of the *Euphorion*[1] and was hurriedly turning its pages, my eye caught just a glimpse of an unusual heading: *Göttinger Würste.* Due to pressure of work at the time, I neglected even to skim the article despite its appetizing title, and the thing then passed out of my mind.[2] Subsequently I wrote and published my note *Concerning a Passage in Heine's Harzreise,*[3] in which I expressed the opinion that various editors of the *Harzreise* apparently erred when they regarded the opening lines of that work to have been wholly original with Heine. This conviction I still hold; I note that Richard M. Meyer, the author of the article referred to above, expresses the same view. In our conclusions, however, we differ.

It would be interesting if someone, say, in old Göttingen itself, could now definitely prove Meyer's conjecture to be correct—for conjecture it admittedly is—that Lichtenberg did not really mean what he said, when in his letter to Amelung he wrote: "Man hat hier ein altes Gedicht auf die Stadt (Göttingen)," and that he was merely indulging in a bit of playful mystification, having himself written the poem in question. But if that should be shown to be true, it would not necessarily preclude Heine's acquaintance with the poem.

The passage from Hübner's *Konversationslexikon,* which Meyer quotes,[4] tends to confirm somewhat an earlier alternative view of mine, namely, that it was probably a matter of common knowledge in Göttingen that the fame of the town did actually rest, in a large measure, both upon its sausages and its intellectual interests as typified by the university and its faculty.[5] In that case, of course,

[1] Volume 8. Cf. p. 706.

[2] The other day a colleague reminded me of it.

[3] Cf. the *Philological Quarterly,* July 1925, pp. 239-240.

[4] As Meyer states, he came upon the passage in a volume by Frensdorff entitled *Hansische Geschichtsblätter.*

[5] As I now reread it, Lichtenberg's letter intimates as much, and in so far would itself seem to militate against Meyer's view that both Lichtenberg and Heine were indebted to the article in Hübner's *Konversationslexikon.*

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

no direct, specific literary indebtedness on the part of either Lichtenberg or Heine would be involved, though it would still be inaccurate to credit Heine with having originated the facetious juxtaposition of "sausages" and "university." Meyer, I note, himself admits that it was an old joke to link sausages and learning.[6]

In conclusion it seems desirable to recall here the two parallel passages which inspired my original note. The lines in Lichtenberg's letter concerning the university town of Göttingen run as follows:

Berühmt in allerlei Bedeutung,
Durch Würste, Bibliothek und Zeitung—

The letter bears the date 1784. It was many years later when Heine in his *Harzreise* wrote: "Die Stadt Göttingen, berühmt durch ihre Würste und Universität—enthält—eine Bibliothek—" etc.

In case it should now be shown beyond peradventure that, as Meyer suggests, the couplet quoted above was actually composed by Lichtenberg himself, then one might well assume that it was his official connection with the university of Göttingen that quite naturally led him to avoid the juxtaposition of "sausages" and "university." On the other hand, in the case of the embittered, cynical Heine it was his deep-seated personal resentment against that institution of learning that must be regarded as the very reason for his choosing, with malice aforethought, to juxtapose those particular disparates.

[6] I confess I am a bit puzzled how to reconcile this admission on the part of Meyer with his suggestion of Lichtenberg's and Heine's specific indebtedness to Hübner's encyclopaedia.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

HEINE'S "ICH HATTE EINST EIN SCHOENES VATERLAND"

By FRANZ SCHNEIDER
University of California

A curious bit of interpolation which may be puzzling to some occurs in Eduard Lassen's *Selected Songs*, Vol. I, No. 1, published by G. Schirmer, New York. The song in question bears the title "Ah, 'tis but a dream," which is the English version of Heine's "Ich hatte einst ein schönes Vaterland." Besides the English and the German there is also a French text. But Lassen's *Song* has three verses instead of Heine's two (Elster I, 263; Walzel, Insel Verlag, 1911, II, 82). This extra verse is placed between the other two, evidently to serve as a link. It reads as follows:

Und da ich nun in fremde Lande kam,
Fand ich ein Mädchen
Wunderschön im Aug' der Liebe Glück,
Es war ein Traum.

Apparently, the "improver" felt that a proper antecedent was lacking to "Das küsste mich. . . ." But there is no need for knitting the two verses so closely together. If one looks upon them as distinct chords struck by the poet in a wistful, dreamy mood, the dying note of the one blending but faintly into the other, the verses become quite intelligible. For then it will be felt that "das küsste mich" takes the place of an ordinary impersonal construction, only that it is infinitely more poetic than such a construction could be.

There is every reason in favor of trying to understand the poem as it stands in Elster, etc., for there is no evidence that Heine ever felt it to be "incomplete"; in the same form in which it originally appeared in volume I of the "Salon" in 1834, it was reprinted under Heine's personal supervision in 1844 in the "Neue Gedichte." The French translation, too, in Heine's "Poésies Inédites," p. 197, Paris, s.a., Calmann-Lévy, has but these two verses. (Lassen's French version bears no resemblance whatever to this translation.)

From a composer's or publisher's point of view, however, where the emphasis falls upon the music and the song, the additional verse may have seemed necessary, for it cannot be gainsaid that when

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

imbued with a strong melody, the mind is not in a state to appreciate the delicateness of a subtle poet's influence. Heine's name, to be sure, is not mentioned in Schirmer's publication; but that should make no difference, since Heine's poem, literally, forms the basis of this *Song*.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

THE PLAYS OF ISAAC BICKERSTAFF IN AMERICA

By Ethel Macmillan
Iowa State College

Mr. J. Middleton Murry, writing on the "Function of Criticism", points out that historical criticism of literature must, of necessity, be differentiated from judicial and appreciative criticism. "The historical critic", writes Mr. Murry, "approaches literature as the manifestation of an evolutionary process in which all the phases are of equal value. Essentially, he has no concern with the greater or less literary excellence of the objects whose history he traces— their existence is alone sufficient for him; a bad book is as important as a good one if it exercised, as bad books have a way of doing, a real influence on the course of literature."[1] If then one is to get a comprehensive view of any period or movement, he must consider carefully the minor figures, because it is in them that tendencies are crystallized. Viewed from this angle, Isaac Bickerstaff, while emphatically a minor author, is of more importance than any literary historian would lead us to suppose. He is so entirely of his time, and so embodies and exemplifies most of the leading tendencies of the lighter English drama of the latter half of the eighteenth century that, if for no other reason, he is of decided interest to the student of the literature of the period. Moreover, we have had recently more than one proof of the vitality of the eighteenth-century ballad opera; witness the successful revivals of Gay's *Beggar's Opera* and *Polly*, and Bickerstaff's *Love in a Village*.[2] In the case of Bickerstaff's opera, much of the present-day success is due to the mannered simplicity and artlessness characteristic of the eighteenth century, and to the *clichés* which are typical not of Bickerstaff alone. For these reasons it is worth while to look into the place occupied by Bickerstaff's work upon the British and the American stage.

Bickerstaff (1735?-1812?) was one of the many hangers-on of the

[1] *Aspects of Literature*, p. 3.

[2] This last opera was presented at the Everyman Theatre, Hampstead, beginning Friday, December 21, 1924.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

London theatrical world of his day, and even figured for a time in the literary and social circle to which Samuel Johnson, David Garrick, Oliver Goldsmith, and Sir Joshua Reynolds belonged. Between 1756 and 1771, he produced a score or more of pieces for the London stage, and his dramas rank well along with those of several of his contemporaries. Indeed, his work contrived to win a considerable measure of attention and applause during his lifetime and for some little time thereafter. This article will take into consideration mainly the production of Bickerstaff's plays in America.

The American theatre at first, naturally enough, had to depend for its source of supply in the matter of plays upon England. From 1716, the year of the building of the first regular theatre in America at Williamsburg, Virginia,[8] until the time when the work of native playwrights came gradually to supersede that of British authors, both the plays of the older English dramatists and the current popular successes of the London stage were reproduced in the American theatres. Bickerstaff's plays and operas, as we shall see, held their own pretty well in America beside those of other English playwrights of his day. Moreover, from the data accessible, it would appear that the popularity of these pieces in America measures up well to the favor accorded them in England, although exact comparison on the point is impossible owing to the fact that Genest's record takes almost no account of continuous runs, and to the scarcity of newspaper comment on early theatrical productions in America, and the incompleteness in theatre records.

While various writers have, here and there, given us a glimpse of Bickerstaff's plays in America, so that most of the facts are accessible in print, this information is widely scattered, and no one writer has assembled the facts; nor without a knowledge of the text of the plays in their various versions is it possible always to be sure that a play referred to by historians of the American theatre is from Bickerstaff's hand or another's. As will appear later, the twentieth century playwright is not alone in tinkering with the plays of other writers and presenting them in new guise, although he is somewhat more careful to acknowledge indebtedness or to give out plays as revisions. In view of these facts, it seems advisable to bring together what is known of the presentation of Bickerstaff's plays and operas in America in somewhat more con-

[8] Hornblow, Arthur: *A History of the Theatre in America*, vol. II, pp. 23, 35.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

venient form as well as to call attention to certain facts not, apparently, generally known.

Bickerstaff worked mainly in the field of comic opera and farce, occasionally trying his hand at comedy, sentimental or purely humorous; sometimes adapting earlier plays, sometimes doing original work. Of the nineteen dramatic pieces written by him and produced on the English stage, nine were often produced in America during the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century. Besides these nine, we may mention four others which had a few performances each: *The Recess, The Romp, The American Captive,* slightly modified versions respectively of Bickerstaff's *'Tis Well It's No Worse, Love in the City, The Sultan*; and *The Spoiled Child.*[4] These thirteen plays were given in Philadelphia, Boston, New York, Salem, Newport, Providence, Portsmouth (N. H.), Hartford, Baltimore, Williamsburg, Charleston (S.C.), New Orleans, and were even taken to Jamaica. Bickerstaff's pieces continued to be performed in America from the season of 1766-67, when *Thomas and Sally* and *Love in a Village* were first produced here, until 1852, when *The Spoiled Child* was given its last production. According to Seilhamer,[5] Bickerstaff's operas were at the height of their popularity during the season of 1773-74.

The first of Bickerstaff's dramas to be acted was the musical entertainment *Thomas and Sally; or The Sailor's Return,* given first at Covent Garden on November 28, 1760, and performed at that theatre as late as July 5, 1820.[6] The piece also had performances at the Smock Alley theatre in Dublin on May 25, 1762, and in Edinburgh, sometime in 1782.[7] The music was by Dr. Arne. It was brought to America in 1767, where it was produced at the Southwark theatre in Philadelphia on February 10 of that year. It had in all thirty performances in the New World, its last production being at the John Street theatre in New York on May 20, 1796.[8]

[4] This farce, although sometimes credited to Bickerstaff, seems pretty clearly not to be his. It is variously ascribed to Mrs. Jordan, to Mr. Ford, and to Prince Hoare. See *Biographia Dramatica,* vol. III, p. 296; Forster's *Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith,* vol. II, p. 136, note; Hornblow's *History of the Theatre in America,* vol. I, pp. 204, 236; Ireland's *Records of the New York Stage,* vol. I, p. 122; French's *Modern Minor Drama,* xvii, no. 133.

[5] Seilhamer, George O.: *History of the American Theatre,* vol. I, p. 331.

[6] Genest, J.: *Some Account of the English Stage,* vol. IV, pp. 622-23; vol. IX, p. 59; Wyndham, H. Saxe: *Annals of Covent Garden Theater,* vol. I, p. 160.

[7] Wilkinson, Tate: *Memoirs of His Own Life,* vol. III, p. 93; *"The Stage" Cyclopædia,* compiled by Reginald Clarence.

[8] Seilhamer: *op. cit.,* vol. III, p. 317.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

From this point on, we shall consider the leading plays in the order of their popularity, not in the order of their performance. The plays which met with the most favor from American audiences were *Lionel and Clarissa, The Maid of the Mill, The Romp, Love in a Village,* and *The Padlock.*

Lionel and Clarissa, Bickerstaff's best work, was performed twenty-three times, and was presented in practically all the towns in this country where plays were at this time given. It had been acted for the first time on the British stage at Drury Lane, February 25, 1768.[9] After a run[10] of twelve nights, it seems to have had no further performance until February 8, 1770, when it was again given at Drury Lane, with the sub-title *A School for Fathers;* subsequently, it was revived at Covent Garden in 1814 and 1829, and at the Haymarket in 1830.[11] In America, the piece was given first at the Southwark theatre in Philadelphia, December 14, 1772, under the title *A School for Fathers;*[12] and its last performance was at the Park theatre, New York, January 18, 1828. Previous to the production of the opera in Philadelphia on July 28, 1787, the managers announced: "It contains more capital songs than any musical entertainment ever given this side of the Atlantic."[13] On the occasion of this performance, the piece appeared under the title, *Modern Lovers, or Generosity Rewarded.*[14] This change of title was due to the Pennsylvania law against theatrical performances, which was still in force at this time.[15] As in the other colonies having similar laws, all sorts of subterfuges were resorted to by theatrical companies and managers of playhouses for the evasion of the law. Seilhamer also records a performance at the Southwark theatre, Philadelphia, on June 25, 1788, when the opera was called *Modern Love, or Generosity Rewarded.*[16] Joseph Ireland, in commenting upon the performance at the Park theatre, New York, March 14, 1818, speaks of the piece as "Bickerstaff's once highly popular opera."[17] Washington, who was fond of the

[9] Genest, J.: *op. cit.,* vol. V, pp. 203-4.

[10] Of course, a run at this time was nothing like our present-day notion of a long run.

[11] Genest, J.: *op. cit.,* vol. IX, p. 529.

[12] Seilhamer: *op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 303; Ireland: *op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 547.

[13] Seilhamer: *op. cit.,* vol. II, p. 220.

[14] Seilhamer: *op. cit.,* vol. II, p. 220.

[15] This law had been passed by the Pennsylvania House of Representatives on May 31, 1759; the Rhode Island law was enacted in 1761.

[16] *Op. cit.,* vol. II, p. 245.

[17] *Records of the New York Stage,* vol. I, p. 334.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

theatre, evidently witnessed performances of this opera, and was pleased with it as he was with *The Maid of the Mill, The Romp,* and *The Spoiled Child,* for it is one of the books in his library at Mount Vernon.[18]

The Maid of the Mill, a comic opera, proved to be one of the most popular of Bickerstaff's pieces in England, where it held the stage for sixty years. Four years after its first production at Covent Garden in 1765, when it had a run of twenty-nine nights,[19] it was produced at the John Street theatre in New York; and its latest performance in America was at the Park theatre, New York, October 3, 1818. Altogether, the piece was given thirty-three times at various places in America; and, like *Love in a Village,* and several others of Bickerstaff's musical pieces, it was taken to Jamaica.[20] Relative to the performance of this opera at the Southwark theatre in Philadelphia on the evening of November 14, 1792, when George Washington was in the audience, *The Federal Gazette* for November 17, 1792, recounts the following anecdote: "When Mr. Hodgkinson as Lord Aimworth exhibited nobleness of mind in his generosity to the humble miller and his daughter Patty; when he found her blest with all the qualities that captivate and endear life, and knew that she was capable of adorning a higher sphere; when he had interviews with her upon the subject on which was painted the amiableness of an honorable passion; and when he bestowed his benefactions on the relatives, etc., of the old miller, the great and good Washington manifested his approbation of this interesting part of the opera by the tribute of a tear."

The Romp, which comes next in point of popularity, was a revision of Bickerstaff's comic opera *Love in the City,* supposedly by an actor named Lloyd. In *Love in the City,* Bickerstaff had turned

[18] Ford, Paul Leicester: *Washington and the Theatre,* p. 60.

[19] Genest, J.: *op. cit.,* vol. V, pp. 73-74; Wyndham, *op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 156; *Biographia Dramatica,* vol. III, p. 9, records a run of thirty-five nights.

[20] From 1779 to 1782, the American Company was playing in Kingston, Jamaica, whither it had gone in 1774-75, after the resolution passed by Congress in Philadelphia, October 24, 1774, recommending the suspension of all public amusements, including plays. The company remained in Jamaica during the Revolution, a decree having been issued in 1778 prohibiting play-acting in any form. From 1779 to 1781, six of Bickerstaff's pieces were produced in Jamaica. These were: *Thomas and Sally,* October 2, 1779 and November 11, 1780; *The Maid of the Mill,* November 13, 1779 and November 21, 1780; *The Padlock,* September 2, 1780 and May 26, 1781; *Love in a Village,* February 10 and November 3, 1781; *Lionel and Clarissa,* April 14, 1781; and *Daphne and Amintor,* July 18, 1781. (See Seilhamer: *op. cit.,* vol. II, chap. xi; Hornblow: *op. cit.,* vol. I, pp. 147-48.)

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

from sentimental comedy as exemplified in *The Maid of the Mill,*[21] to purely humorous comedy; but the piece met with little favor on its production in London in 1767, largely because, as Bickerstaff had anticipated, the characters were considered "low". However, in Lloyd's revision, the opera became exceedingly popular, although its success seems to have been attributed mainly to Mrs. Jordan's acting in the part of Priscilla. *The Romp* was first produced at Covent Garden, March 28, 1778, and was frequently performed on the British stage from that time until 1817.[22] In America, the piece was given as many as sixty-eight times between October 22, 1792, and May 6, 1837.[23] It was one of the most successful pieces given in America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, although, on the occasion of its performance in Boston, December 3, 1792, *The Columbian Centinel* remarks that this farce is "flat, stale, and unprofitable". In contrast to the opinion of the newspaper critic, we have that of the "great and good Washington", who was present at the performance on November 14, 1792, at the Southwark theatre in Philadelphia, when *The Romp* was given as an afterpiece to *The Maid of the Mill.* The writer in *The Federal Gazette*[24] records: "Nor was his approbation withheld in the afterpiece when Mrs. Hodgkinson as Priscilla Tomboy and Mr. Prigmore as Young Cockney played truly up to nature. The humorous scenes unfolded in this piece being acted to the life, received the approving smiles of our President."

Love in a Village,[25] a comic opera, first given at Covent Garden in 1762, where it had a run nearly equal to that of *The Beggar's Opera,* was brought to America in the season of 1766-67, opening at the Southwark theatre, Philadelphia, March 19, 1767.[26] When the opera was given in Boston, it was announced as a "moral lecture", in accordance with the usual practice for the evasion of the law.[27] There is also record of a performance of *Love in a Village* on May 16, 1770, in Boston, in which all the airs were sung, but no

[21] *Lionel and Clarissa* has a two-fold plot, one sentimental, the other comic.

[22] Genest, J.: *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 134; vol. VI, p. 25; vol. VIII, p. 596.

[23] Seilhamer: *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 420; Ireland: *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 203-204.

[24] November 17, 1792.

[25] See note 2.

[26] Seilhamer: *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 154, 168.

[27] The Massachusetts law had been passed by the General Court in 1750. See Hornblow: *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 24. See also Clapp, Wm. W., Jr.: *A Record of the Boston Stage*, p. 8.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

attempt was made to act the opera.[28] Previous to the performance of the piece at the Southwark theatre, Philadelphia, June 27, 1787, Bradford's *Journal* announced that the principal part was to be sung by "the most capital singer on this side of the Atlantic", a reference, probably, to Mrs. Henry (Maria Storer) in the part of Rossetta.[29] It was at the performance given at the Park theatre, New York, March 1, 1826 that James H. Hackett made his début in the part of Justice Woodcock[30] In all, *Love in a Village* was performed eighty-one times in America, the last performance of which there is record being at Burton's theatre, New York, November 12, 1849.[31]

It should be noted here that in Seilhamer's account of *Love in a Village* on pages 168-69 of volume I, a printer's error, which has evidently escaped the eye of the proof-reader, makes it appear, through the confusion of the accounts of Colman's *The Deuce is in Him* and Bickerstaff's opera, that the latter is based upon the episode of Lindor in Marmontel's *le Scrupule*. In reality, it is Colman's farce which is founded upon Marmontel's tale.

The Padlock, another comic opera, equalled in popularity *Love in a Village*, also being acted eighty-one times. Its first performance in America occurred at the John Street theatre in New York on May 29, 1769, seven months after its first London production.[32] *The Padlock* was first acted at Drury Lane, October 3, 1768, as an afterpiece to Garrick's performance of *Hamlet* in honor of Christian VII, the King of Denmark, then visiting in London.[33] The music was composed by Charles Dibdin, and the opera met with extraordinary success, being performed fifty-three nights to crowded houses; it continued in popular favor in England as late as 1829. It was even translated into French by one A. Pichot.[34] Its last American performance was at the Franklin theatre, New York, March 13, 1837.[35] Seilhamer speaks of it as the "most successful farce ever produced by the old American Company" and as

[28] Seilhamer: *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 17.

[29] Seilhamer: *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 154, 168.

[30] Hornblow: *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 15-16.

[31] Ireland: *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 563.

[32] Seilhamer: *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 249-50; Ireland: *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 55.

[33] See Genest, J.: *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 217, and Arthur Murphy's account in his *Life of David Garrick*, vol. II, chap. 39, pp. 60-62.

[34] Published in *Chefs-d'œuvre des théâtres étrangers*, Paris, 1822.

[35] Ireland: *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 203.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

"the favorite farce".[36] On October 28, 1772, the piece was given at the Southwark theatre, Philadelphia, and *The Pennsylvania Chronicle* of October 31 carried this comment: "The 'Padlock' we have with pleasure seen many repetitions of the last season, and Mr. Hallam in Mungo was then supposed excellent, but we now, upon the judgment of gentlemen of undoubted knowledge and taste in theatrical performances, pronounce him to be the best *Mungo* upon the British stage; the other characters, except Leander, which we verily believe Mr. Wall does as well as he can, . . . are well supported." The "Mungo" here referred to is a negro slave, and we probably have here the first use of the negro as a comic character. Lawrence Hutton, in *Curiosities of the American Stage,* writes:[37] "It [the part of Mungo] was writen for and at the suggestion of John Moody, who had been in Barbadoes, where he had studied the dialect and manners of the blacks. He never played the part, however". In England, the part was taken very successfully by Charles Dibdin. Hutton continues: "The great and original Mungo in America was Lewis Hallam, the younger, who first played the part in New York—on the twenty-ninth of May, 1769, at the theatre in John Street. Dunlap says; 'In *The Padlock* Mr. Hallam was unrivalled to his death, giving Mungo with a truth derived from the study of the negro slave character, which Dibdin, the writer (*sic*) . . . could not have conceived.' "[38]

Others of Bickerstaff's pieces which were accorded American production were: his farce *The Absent Man; Daphne and Amintor,* a one-act comic opera; *The Recess,* an adaptation of his five-act comedy *'Tis Well It's No Worse; The Hypocrite,* an able revision of Cibber's *Non-Juror* (1717); and *The Sultan,* an adaptation of Favart's *Soliman II. The Absent Man* was given three performances: at the John Street theatre in New York, March 13, 1779; at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, August 8, 1792; and at the Haymarket theatre in Boston, May 29, 1797.[39] *Daphne and Amintor* was given eight times in various American cities from 1781 to 1798. *The Recess* was given twelve times; first on April 27, 1791, and finally on June 7, 1830. *The Hypocrite* was given twenty-two

[36] *Op. cit.,* vol. II, pp. 80, 213.

[37] Pp. 93-94.

[38] See also Seilhamer: *op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 250.

[39] Seilhamer, *History of the American Theater,* vol. II, p. 49, mentions this farce as among those pieces played for the first time in America as one of the military theatricals put on by Clinton's Thespians in New York, 1778-82.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

American performances; first in Philadelphia at the Northern Liberties theatre, February 10, 1792, and for the last time at the Park theatre, New York, March 15, 1842. *The Sultan* was performed twenty-two times, beginning at the John Street theatre, New York, May 3, 1794, and had its last production at the Park theatre, New York, February 14, 1840. Of this group, only three have special interest for this discussion, and it is to them that we shall now devote our attention.

The Sultan, Bickerstaff's last play, which was presented first at Drury Lane, December 12, 1775, is a two-act farce, little more than a direct translation, somewhat condensed, of Favart's *Soliman II*, also known as *Les Trois Sultanes*. It proved to be one of the most popular of Bickerstaff's plays in London, and was acted also in Dublin and in Edinburgh. In 1787, *The Monthly Review* speaks of it as a "favorite on the English stage".[40] The last performance recorded by Genest took place at Drury Lane, February 11, 1828. The piece had an even longer stage career in America, its last performance here taking place in 1840. Among other performances was that of the farce in revised form at the John Street theatre in New York under the title of *The American Captive*, on February 29, 1796. The author of the revision is unknown, and the version exists only in manuscript.[41]

The Hypocrite, a satire on hypocrisy, false piety, and fanaticism as manifested by certain of the Methodist sect, was one of the most popular of Bickerstaff's works on the English stage, where it had an initial run of thirteen nights at Drury Lane in the season of 1768-69,[42] and was often revived up to 1829. Its last revival came at Drury Lane as late as February 1, 1868.[43] Much of the popularity of this comedy, both in England and in America, was due to the character of Maw-worm, an ignorant lay preacher, follower of the arch-hypocrite Dr. Cantwell, and an invention of Bickerstaff. It became customary to introduce into the play, in the way of a sermon or exhortation to the audience, additional lines for Maw-worm, whom Bickerstaff had made boast of his "extrumpery" sermons.

---

[40] Vol. LXXVI, p. 263.

[41] Wegelin, Oscar: *Early American Plays, 1714-1830*, (edited with an introduction by John Malone), p. 8; revised edn., N. Y., p. 83. This manuscript I have not seen.

[42] Genest, J.: *op. cit.*, vol. V, pp. 218-19.

[43] *"The Stage" Cyclopædia*, p. 209.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

G. O. Willard relates the following anecdote concerning a performance of *The Hypocrite* at Providence, Rhode Island, April 30, 1828.[44] It seems that on this occasion, Edward Quarles, a paperhanger, who had previously made several appearances in amateur theatricals, was to make his début on the professional stage. He had selected the part of Maw-worm in *The Hypocrite* because of his own bitter animosity toward certain preachers who had gained much influence over his widowed mother, and he could thus mimic their peculiarities. Quarles had so disguised himself that his identity was unknown, until his voice was recognized by some one in the audience, who called out his name. At this, he became so frightened that he forgot almost every word of his part. By dint of great exertion, however, the play was continued until the famous pulpit scene was reached. A sermon had been written, which was so absurd that it filled the theatre with uproarious laughter. Quarles had by this time recovered himself, and delivered the sermon with excellent emphasis and exceeding energy. The lines were a caricature of the productions of an itinerant sensationalist then preaching in the town, and the satire was so palpable and so forcibly delivered that Quarles was called before the curtain for a speech. In his speech, he declared that the one experience was enough, and that he would not act again.

In America, *The Hypocrite* was for a time not so popular as were some of Bickerstaff's other pieces. In 1835, however, I have found that the actor-manager Sol Smith made an alteration of the piece, reducing it from five acts to three; and in this form it was presented in New York, Philadelphia, and New Orleans.[45] In the *Remarks* prefatory to this version as printed in French's *Modern Standard Drama*, volume 14, F. C. Wemyss says that Maw-worm is now made the hero of the comedy, and that he has been made popular by the acting of a Barnes, a Jefferson, a Burton, and a Sol Smith. According to Mr. Wemyss, there were many reasons why the play was not more frequently acted in America. "The first is, managers of theatres, speaking in general terms, are averse to representation of any piece calculated to turn religion into ridicule, and only use the satire of this play occasionally as a weapon of self-defence, against periodical attacks upon the Stage and its professors, by Reverend Clergymen from the Pulpit; thus turning

[44] *History of the Providence Stage, 1762-1891*, pp. 121-23.

[45] Neither Hornblow nor Ireland mentions this version.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

the tables upon their assailants by showing that it is possible for even saints to be sinners."

Of all these pieces, the one of especial interest here is possibly *The Recess.* This play is a revision of Bickerstaff's most ambitious effort, a five-act comedy entitled *'Tis Well It's No Worse,* performed first at Drury Lane, November 24, 1770. *'Tis Well It's No Worse* met with little success in London, though it was acted for nine nights. In 1788, the piece was cut down to a three-act farce by John Philip Kemble, the actor, renamed *The Pannel,* and in this form met with much greater favor. This version of the play, in which many of Bickerstaff's lines are retained unaltered, was acted on the British stage as late as 1826. Seilhamer records only one performance in America, that in New York on May 31, 1797. He does record, however, several performances of *The Recess,* which is evidently Kemble's version under another name, possibly with slight alterations. There are two reasons for my holding this opinion. In volume II of his *History of the American Theater,* page 320, Seilhamer makes this statement: "When the benefits began at the Southwark theatre, Philadelphia, season of 1790-91, Mr. Hallam started with a new piece that he called the 'Recess; or The Masked Apparition' ". In the cast of this play as given on pages 309, 325, and 352-53, the names of the characters are found to be the same as those of the characters in Bickerstaff's comedy and of Kemble's revision. Again, in the index to Ireland's *Records of the New York Stage,* occurs this entry: "Pannel (or Recess)—I, 630". Of this piece, nine performances are recorded by Seilhamer; Ireland records performances at the Park theatre, New York, June 1, 1818, and June 7, 1830. In all, then, Bickerstaff's play, in some form, had twelve performances in this country.

It remains only to speak briefly of *The Spoiled Child,* a two-act farce, which is, as I have noted, probably not by Bickerstaff, although ascribed to him at various times. This farce was first given at Drury Lane, March 22, 1790, nearly twenty years after Bickerstaff's flight to the Continent.[46] It continued to be played in England until 1826, and held the boards in America from 1794 to 1852,[47] being performed some seventy-one times in all. One performance of

[46] Bickerstaff, in 1772, fled from England to avoid punishment for a capital crime. He afterwards lived under an assumed name at St. Malo. The date of his death is uncertain.

[47] See Ireland: *op. cit.,* vol. II, p. 604.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

interest is that for the benefit of the poor at Providence, November 2, 1807, by an amateur organization, the Thespian Club.[48] There are records of Washington's attendance at the performance of the piece at the Chestnut Street theatre, Philadelphia, on March 5, 1794, and again on February 29, 1796. On this latter occasion, the piece was given at Washington's special request.[49] On the occasion of its performance at Newport, April 12, 1797, Little Pickle, the "spoiled child", was played by Miss Arnold, later Mrs. Poe, and the mother of Edgar Allan Poe.[50]

While the records of the performances of these plays are, in all probability, not complete, owing to the difficulty of obtaining exact information regarding the theatre in America at this early period, the facts obtainable are, I think, sufficient to show that Bickerstaff is not a negligible figure, though his dramas, like those of his contemporaries, were naturally eventually eclipsed by plays of later fashion or of greater merit.

[48] Willard, G.O.: *op. cit.*, p. 38.
[49] Ford, Paul Leicester: *op. cit.*, p. 58.
[50] Seilhamer: *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 375.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

FIVE UNPUBLISHED LETTERS BY CARL HILTY

By Herbert Z. Kip
Connecticut College for Women

Several years ago the writer had occasion to borrow from the Columbia University Library, for one of his students, the collection of essays which Hilty published, in three volumes, between the years 1891 and 1899 under the collective title *Glück*, the work which expresses most completely the philosophical and religious convictions of its author. Although the Columbia Library possesses at least one other set of this work it chanced that the one sent was a set which had formerly been the property of the late Dr. Holls,[1] a personal friend and correspondent of Hilty's. Attached to the inside of the back cover of one of the volumes was a letter in Hilty's handwriting addressed to Dr. Holls, and a second letter was found attached to the title page of one of the other volumes. Believing that other letters of a similar character might be in existence, the writer requested Mr. Roger Howson, Assistant Librarian, to institute a search among the Holls papers which are preserved in the vault of the Columbia Library. Mr. Howson's search was rewarded by the discovery of three other letters which he very kindly placed at the disposal of the writer for examination and possible publication. The handwriting in these letters is not everywhere equally legible, particularly in the one of Jan. 21, 1901, when Hilty was evidently in feeble health, and for valuable assistance in deciphering certain more or less illegible passages the writer is indebted to Professor Henry H. L. Schulze of the Columbia faculty. Here and there the transcription may be open to question but in only two instances is the uncertainty sufficiently great or of sufficient importance to call for comment.

When and how the friendship that existed between Holls and Hilty began is not known to the writer. That this friendship meant much to Hilty is clear from the general tone of the letters and indeed is frankly expressed when Hilty speaks of his acquaintance

[1] George Frederick William Holls, 1857-1903. Appointed by President McKinley a member of the American delegation to the First Peace Conference at The Hague, Holls served as Counsel and Secretary of the delegation. For a sketch of his life and a list of his writings cf. The New International Encyclopedia. Hilty's relation to the Peace Conference and to the Hague Tribunal, which was one of the main results of the conference, is indicated in the letters of Aug. 30, 1899 and Jan. 21, 1901.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

with Dr. Holls as one of the "erfreulichsten Ereignisse aus der letzten Periode meines Lebens." That it meant perhaps even more to the younger man may be inferred from the care with which Holls read and reread Hilty's writings and the evident joy and satisfaction that they afforded him. How frequently Dr. Holls returned to Hilty's essays is shown by the dates entered in pencil at the end of each volume of *Glück,* and also beneath many of the separate essays. On the last page of *Glück II,* for example, occur the following dates: Dec. 23, 1894, Dec. 29, 1894, Jan. 15, 1895, Nov. 24, 1901, and in addition to these no less than thirty dates at the end of the individual essays.

That these two men were kindred spirits and practical idealists of the highest type hardly needs to be said. If Dr. Holls had been privileged to hear the address which Hilty delivered upon assuming the office of Rector of the University of Bern, in the year 1902, he would surely have given his cordial approval to the passage in which Hilty expressed his conviction concerning the true object of life:

"Des Lebens Ziel ist nicht, die Welt zu geniessen, auch nicht einmal sie wissenschaftlich zu erkennen, sondern aus dieser Erde ein Reich des Friedens, der Gerechtigkeit und der Liebe zu machen, soweit es jeweilen möglich erscheint, und nur soweit wir daran mitgeholfen haben, soweit hat unser Leben einen Werth gehabt."

That the letters here reproduced were not written for publication is, of course, quite apparent. That Hilty himself would have deprecated their publication is more than likely. Their value, aside from the data which they furnish for Hilty's future biographer, if one arises,[2] consists in the proof which they furnish for the absolute genuineness of Hilty's philosophy of life. The same idealism, bordering at times upon austerity, the same serene belief in the ultimate, and indeed in a sense the constant victory of good over evil, the same faith in a power, not ourselves, which makes for righteousness, the same simple friendliness between man and man, the same absence of egotism in what is nevertheless a sharply defined personality,—these qualities which are so characteristic of Hilty's formal writings are all present in these informal letters, though of course more as outcroppings than as intentional objects of discussion.

[2] Hilty's death occurred in October, 1909. In the course of the following year there appeared (Verlag von K.J. Wyss, Bern) a publication entitled: Carl Hilty, Blätter zur Geschichte seines Lebens und Wirkens. Gesammelt und zum Kranz gewunden von Heinrich Auer. This book, however, as the somewhat poetical sub-title shows, does not purport to be a complete or standard biography.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Although without any direct bearing upon these letters it is not amiss to call attention in this connection to a reference to Hilty by one of his contemporaries and colleagues in a work which is probably known to few, if any, of Hilty's readers on this side of the Atlantic. Dr. Alexander Tschirch, for many years professor of pharmacology at the University of Bern, remarks on p. 168 of his autobiographical *Erlebtes und Erstrebtes*:

"Durch Arbeit allein kann man regieren und sich durchsetzen, und 'Glück hat auf die Dauer zumeist nur der Tüchtige,' sagt der grosse Lebenskünstler Hilty."

If one were to try to characterize Hilty in a single word it would be difficult to find a term more appropriate than *Lebenskünstler*, and these letters, unassuming as they are, do not belie their author.

1

Hochgeehrter Herr Dr.,

Sicherlich habe ich Sie und unsere kurze Unterhaltung nicht vergessen, und die Ereignisse seither nehmen nun auch den *richtigen* Gang nach unserer Anschauung. Das Jahrbuch[3] wird Ihnen, sobald es erscheint, d.h. im Lauf des Dezember zugehen, *vorher* erhalten Sie noch eine neue Auflage eines kleinen Büchleins über "Lesen und Reden," das sich für die studierende Jugend eignet und das Sie vielleicht in Ihrem, oder zugleich wenn Sie wollen meinem Namen der Columbia University, als Dank für ihre freundliche Aufnahme des Aufsatzes "Bildung"[4] in ihren Syllabus, anbieten können.

Über das Frauenstimmrecht hätte ich Sie sicher consultiert, wenn ich die Ehre bereits gehabt hätte Sie zu kennen. Das Jahrbuch muss solche Fragen behandeln, die erst im Werden sind und dazu etwas Material liefern, aus dem dann unsere Politiker schöpfen und ich hatte viele Mühe mich über die amerikanischen Verhältnisse einigermassen zu informieren. Wenn ich künftig eine Auskunft brauche, werde ich mir gestatten, an Sie zu gelangen[5] und offeriere Ihnen oder den von Ihnen Empfohlenen, oder [der] Regierung oder hiesiger Gesandtschaft, jederzeit mit dem grössten Vergnügen alle und jede Auskunft, die ich über schweizerische Dinge zu geben im Stande bin.

[3] Politisches Jahrbuch der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft (Bern 1886 ff) of which Hilty was for many years the editor.

[4] "Was ist Bildung?", the 4th essay in Glück II.

[5] For this rather unusual use of gelangen cf. Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* IV, pg. 2862.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Wenn ich nicht durch academische und politische Thätigkeit und das Amt als Oberauditor der Armee *sehr* stark beansprucht wäre, so würde es mir ein besonderes Anliegen sein, die Verbindung mit America etwas zu stärken und etwa regelmässig Artikel in eine grosse amerikanische Zeitung zu schreiben. Ich kann es aber nicht noch zu allem andern unternehmen. Wenn aber eine solche Zeitung einer regelmässigen Correspondenz bedürfte, so würde ich meinen Sohn, Dr. juris, Rechtsanwalt in Chur, veranlassen, so etwas zu übernehmen und allenfalls auch Englisch zu schreiben. Sie dürfen mir in einem solchen Falle nur das Nähere berichten, ich werde sofort Schritte dazu thun.

Indem ich Sie bitte mir Ihr persönliches Wohlwollen bestens zu bewahren,

bleibe ich stets Ihr

ganz ergebenster

Prof. Hilty

Bern, 17 Nov., 1898.

2

Hochgeehter Herr Dr.,

Ich habe mich sehr über Ihren Brief gefreut und noch mehr über die Aussicht, Sie in diesem Jahre wieder zu sehen. Dagegen begreife ich nicht, dass Sie das Jahrbuch nicht erhielten. Ich gab den Auftrag dazu, es Ihnen zu senden und zweifle auch nicht, dass es geschehen ist, aber der Verleger wird nun ein zweites absenden. Ich bin nun mit dem neuen beschäftigt und habe eben einen Aufsatz über die "Völkerrechtlichen Fragen der Gegenwart,"[6] d.h. eigentlich über das, was *wir* von den Abrüstungs-und sonstigen Congressen zu wünschen und zu hoffen haben, in Arbeit, der speziell für unser Militärdepartement bestimmt ist und demselben natürlich zugehen wird, bevor er im Jahrbuch erscheint.

Die Entwicklung der amerikanischen Politik verfolge ich stets mit grosser Aufmerksamkeit und mit dem Grundgedanken, dass es für jeden Staat gut, für einen grossen, sehr lebenskräftigen aber *nothwendig* ist, zu grösseren Aufgaben, als dem blossen Wohlbefinden seiner Bürger, berufen zu werden. Nur durch solche Aufgaben können die Gefahren einer Art von Versumpfung in blossem Genussleben vermieden werden, die den Republiken ganz besonders schädlich ist. Vorläufig zwar ist das nicht die gewöhnliche Meinung,

[6] Politisches Jahrbuch, 13. Jahrgang, (1899).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

auch in America, wie es scheint, noch nicht. Ein dortiger Professor der Harvard-Universität,[7] der mich jüngst besuchte, war erschrocken in der Schweiz Vertreter der Ausdehnungs-Politik zu finden. Es ist eben gut, dass die grossen Gedanken der Weltgeschichte sich vollziehen, auch wenn sie nicht allgemein begriffen und gebilligt werden. Immerhin brauchen sie aber doch menschliche Träger, und solche müssen stets in einem Staate erzogen werden, in der Republik natürlich in der Mehrzahl, statt in der monarchischen Einzahl, und das zu besorgen, das ist eigentlich unsere Aufgabe, bei uns in einem kleinen, bei Ihnen in einem sehr grossen Massstabe. Ich habe für America keine Besorgnisse gehabt, wie viele, selbst meiner Landsleute, sie haben, seitdem ich den Untergang der Sklavenbarone erlebte. So gut wie die Republik mit diesen fertig geworden ist, wird sie auch mit den Geldkönigen, Eisenbahngesellschaften und selbst mit der katholischen Kirche fertig werden, von Cuba und den Philippinen nicht zu reden. Für *uns* ist das alles gut; für Deutschland hingegen kommt meines Erachtens bald die sehr grosse Entscheidung, ob es mit America und England, oder mit Russland und Oesterreich gehen will; da wird auch die gewöhnliche Politik mit Zustimmung der Manen Bismarcks, zu dem letzteren, eine weiterblickende aber zu dem ersteren rathen, wahrscheinlich aber vor der Hand vergebens. Deutschland steht noch vor grossen Prüfungen, die es aber auch durchkämpfen wird, dessen bin ich sicher.

Seien Sie herzlich gegrüsst von Ihrem

ganz ergebensten

Prof. Hilty

Bern, 5 April, 1899.

P.S. Der Verleger des Jahrbuchs schreibt mir soeben, dass ein 2tes Exemplar des Jahrbuchs 1898 an Sie abgehe. Es sei nichts Ungewöhnliches, dass Büchersendungen nach America nicht an Adresse gelangen.

3

Sachseln,[8] 30 Aug., '99.

Hochgeehrter, lieber Herr Dr.

Ich habe mit sehr grossem Vergnügen Ihren Brief aus Paris erhalten, und dabei das Gefühl gehabt, das Sie auch aussprechen, dass

[7] Prof. Francis G. Peabody who through his translation of *Glück* was one of the first to bring Hilty's writings to the attention of the American public.

[8] A village in Obwalden on the east shore of Lake Sarnen. Hilty's fond-

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

die besten menschlichen Verhältnisse im kleineren und grösseren Style durch "Führung" entstehen. Dabei allein hat man auch die Sicherheit der Dauer und der zuverlässigen Wirkungen. In diesem Sinne zähle ich die mir zu Theil gewordene Bekanntschaft mit Ihnen und die daraus sehr gestärkte Neigung zu dem Volke jenseits des Oceans zu den erfreulichsten Ereignissen aus der letzten Periode meines Lebens.

Ich bin eben beschäftigt, eine neue Auflage von Glück III, das Sie Ihrer Aufmerksamkeit gewürdigt haben, vorzubereiten, die auf Weihnachten erscheint. Ich schicke Ihnen dann ein Exemplar, da doch immer einige Verbesserungen bei einer solchen weiteren Auflage hinzutreten. Auch an dem neuen Jahrbuch bin ich beschäftigt und werde natürlich auch dem Haager-Congress einige Seiten widmen. Derselbe kommt übrigens ohne Zweifel auch bei der nächsten Sitzung der Bundesversammlung, die am 25. September beginnt, oder dann bei der folgenden im Dezember zur Besprechung in den Eidg[enössischen] Räthen. Was Sie darüber sagten freute mich ausserordentlich. Man hatte gerade anfangs den Zweifel, ob die vielen alten Diplomaten, deren Sinn gewöhnlich auf ganz andere, als ernste, Dinge gerichtet ist und die mitunter nicht einmal alle nöthigen Rechtskenntnisse besitzen, die Sache mit dem gehörigen Ernst anfassen und nicht bloss "dinieren" würden. Es ist aber schliesslich doch Etwas herausgekommen und gerade das, was wir erwarteten. Nicht die Abrüstung, aber ein ordentlicher Anfang zu einer Verbesserung des Kriegsrechts und eine Art von obligatorischem Vermittlungsversuch in der Weise der Congo-Akte, worauf ich schon 1892 bei dem sog. "parlamentarischen" Congress in Bern abstellte. Aber diese *gewöhnliche* Sorte von Parlamentariern aller Länder haben eben auch zu wenig wirkliches Verständnis für solche Sachen. Ich sehe aber die Zeit hoffnungsvoll an, je mehr, je älter ich werde. Ohne allen Zweifel ist eine ernstere und bessere Stimmung im Ganzen und Grossen eingetreten, und ich wundere mich oft über Briefe, die ich anlässlich von Glück III von Leuten erhalte, die ich als völlige Materialisten angesehen hatte. Die Menschen fangen doch an, wieder das Rechte zu *wünschen,* und in der grossen Politik wird die germanische Auffassung die romanische und slawische wieder dominieren, namentlich wenn America activ

---

ness for the people of this region may be inferred from his reference, in Vol. 15 of the Jahrbuch, to the death of "Ständerath Wirz von Sarnen, der bekannteste Vertreter des braven Obwaldner-Völkleins, welches Jeder liebt, der es jemals näher kennen gelernt hat."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

mithilft. Darauf kommt es eigentlich an. Damit muss nun auch der weitere Congress, der folgen muss, fortfahren.

Dass die Wahl zu einem Schiedsrichter auf mich fallen wird, wie Sie annehmen, glaube ich nicht. Es gibt zu viele Leute, die so etwas eifrig suchen, während ich zu sehr *alles* Gute im Leben, was ich erreichte, völlig *ungesucht* erhalten habe, um mich um so Etwas zu kümmern. Ich weiss *nichts* ganz Gutes, das mir nicht ganz "zufällig," ohne dass ich nur entfernt daran dachte, zugekommen wäre. Daher kommt meine feste Überzeugung davon, und dazu zähle ich auch die Bekanntschaft mit Ihnen.

Wenn Sie mir, so oft Sie Zeit und Lust haben, etwas mittheilen, was Sie selbst und die amerikanischen Dinge betrifft, so werden Sie mich stets in hohem Grade erfreuen, und bin ich auch stets bereit Ihnen alle Dienste zu leisten, zu denen ich im Stande bin.

Stets Ihr freundschaftlich und hochachtungsvoll ergebenster

C. Hilty

4

Lieber Herr Dr.

Ich schreibe Ihnen heute nur kurz, da ich wegen Bronchitis interniert bin, dass irgend etwas Unrichtiges mit der Post zuweilen[9] sein muss. Ich glaube bestimmt Ihnen wegen Ihres schönen Buchs geschrieben zu haben, auch müssten Sie das Jahrbuch längst erhalten haben, was auch nicht der Fall zu sein scheint.

Ihr Wunsch wegen des Schiedsgerichts in Haag ist schon seit längerer Zeit in Erfüllung gegangen. Schon im Dezember berief mich der Bundespräsident zu sich und eröffnete mir, es sei der einstimmige Wunsch des Bundesraths mich in dieses Gericht zu ernennen. Neben mir Herrn Lardy, unseren Minister in Paris, und einen Bundesrichter, Herrn Dr. Rott. Da ich auch gegen diese nichts zu sagen hatte, mit Herrn Rott war ich College in der hiesigen Facultät, bevor er in das Gericht kam, und mit Herrn Lardy bin ich befreundet, so blieb mir nichts anderes übrig als die gewünschte Zusicherung meiner Annahme zu geben, obwohl damit unter Umständen, falls man wirklich in Thätigkeit gerufen würde, mancherlei Erschwerung der Lebensarbeit verbunden sein kann. Die Ernennung erfolgte sodann noch vor Neujahr. Ich hoffe also sehr Sie im Lauf dieses Jahres zu sehen. Ihrem Freund sagen Sie nur, ich werde stets allen von *Ihnen* Empfohlenen bestmöglichst hilfreich

[9] A doubtful reading. If *zuweilen* is correct there would seem to be some confusion of thought in this sentence.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

mich zeigen. Für heute also adieu und herzlichsten Gruss und Wunsch zu Neujahr, ich bin etwas geniert[10] im Schreiben.

Stets herzlichst Ihr ganz ergebenster

C. Hilty

21 Jan. (1901)[11]

5

Lieber Herr Holls,

Ich freue mich sehr Sie bald zu sehen. Ich bin immer hier. Bis Ende des Monats haben wir Bundesversammlung, nachher dauern noch die Vorlesungen bis zum 20. Juli, und auch später werde ich stets hier, oder in der Nähe sein, da ich dann mit der Militärjustiz viel zu thun habe, wenn überall in der Schweiz Truppen sind. Aber daneben werden wir uns stets unterhalten können. Bleiben Sie dann nur möglichst lange. Sie sind auch freundlichst eingeladen bei uns, ein wenig vor der Stadt (Falkenplatz 18), zu wohnen, wenn Ihnen das nicht zu unbequem ist. Wir sind nur zwei, meine Tochter und ich, und es wäre sehr hübsch, wenn Sie ganz zu uns kämen.

Das kleine Buch werden Sie nach Ihrer Bestimmung in Berlin, an die Gesandtschaft adressiert, erhalten. Es ist speziell für Kranke und Angegriffene bestimmt,[12] nicht für Sie. Sie werden es wahrscheinlich im Lauf der nächsten Woche erhalten.

Berichten Sie mir also s.Z., wann Sie kommen und bleiben Sie möglichst lange.

Inzwischen grüsst Sie allerbestens und mit besonderer Freude Sie auch in dem internationalen Schiedsgericht zu wissen

Stets Ihr ergebenster

Prof. Hilty

Bern, 5 Juni, 1901.

---

[10] This reading is uncertain. The use of *geniert* as a predicate adjective seems odd but may be common in Bern where the French influence, linguistically, is strong.

[11] Entered in pencil, presumably by Dr. Holls. The date is unquestionably correct since the Jahrbuch for the year 1901 contains the following item: "Liste des membres de la Cour Permanente d'Arbitrage: la Suisse: Ch. Lardy, Ch.Hilty, Émile Rott."

[12] The little book to which reference is here made is presumably either Hilty's "Für schlaflose Nächte" which was published in the year 1901, or "Über Neurasthenie" which appeared in 1897.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

NOTES ON THE SPANISH TRAGEDY

By Robert S. Forsythe
Northwestern University

In Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*, III, ii,[1] begins an incident which, as I shall show, parallels fairly closely an episode in a contemporary work of fiction, and is indeed perhaps derived from it. The villainous Lorenzo, suspecting from Hieronimo's manner that the marshal has, as is in fact the case, learned the truth as to the identity of the murderers of Horatio, and believing, upon Pedringano's suggestion, that the informant is his tool Serberine, resolves to have the apparent traitor put out of the way. He accordingly orders Pedringano to make an appointment to meet Serberine in a secluded spot, where the latter may be killed conveniently. Pedringano comes to the tryst and slays Serberine, but to his amazement he is arrested, and borne off to prison. Lorenzo has planned to dispose of Pedringano as well as Serberine. When solicited by Pedringano to help him, Lorenzo promises to do so, and sends his page to the trial of the former with a box containing, as the prince states, the murderer's pardon. It is, however, empty. Pedringano is tried, found guilty, and sentenced to death. He does not declare Lorenzo's guilt, believing until too late that his master will intervene to save him. But Lorenzo does not; and so Pedringano is hanged, before he can implicate the former by an oral confession. Pedringano has written an incriminating letter to Lorenzo, however; and this is found on his body by the hangman, who gives it to Hieronimo.[2] The trick of the villain, Lorenzo, is, therefore, in vain.

A parallel to the above incident occurs in Robert Greene's "Venus Tragedie," in his collection of novels called *Planetomachia* (published 1585).[3] Valdracko, Duke of Ferrara, the villain, resolves that his enemy Celio, whose son Rodento is betrothed to Pasilla, Valdracko's daughter, must be killed. He accordingly hires a bravo who, on meeting Celio in a lane in Ferrara, shoots him with a pistol, and tries to escape, but is seized by the citizens

[1] Here, as elsewhere, reference is made to Kyd's *Works*, ed. F. S. Boas, Oxford, 1901.

[2] III, vii.

[3] *Complete Works*, ed. A. B. Grosart, Vol. V, pp. 89 *ff.*

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

who take him before the Duke and Senate. Valdracko feigns great grief and rage at the murder of Celio, and, rising up in a fury, commands one of his men to cut out the assassin's tongue. This is done, and so quickly that the bravo has no time in which to accuse Valdracko of his part in the deed. Later, the unfortunate murderer is put to death with "most cruell torments." The complicity of Valdracko does not come to light until some time later, when he poisons Celio and suffers death at the hands of his revengeful daughter Pasilla.[4] How she has discovered her father's connection with Celio's murder is not explained.

In novel and in play the general course of the episodes agrees. A villain sets an assassin upon a third person, promising protection to the murderer. The crime is committed, and the criminal arrested. In both, the instigator of the deed takes such steps that his tool, believing he will be freed at any moment, is put to death before he has the opportunity of confessing orally the circumstances of his crime.[5]

The resemblance of the tale and the tragedy as to the incidents outlined above may be accidental, or, on the other hand, may be due to borrowing, one from the other. The first alternative seems unlikely, in view of the appearance of the two works near the same time—1585. If either owes the incident to the other, it would appear that Kyd utilized Greene's work, inasmuch as the episode of Lorenzo and Pedringano is more artfully handled and more fully developed in *The Spanish Tragedy* than is the plot of Duke Valdracko against Celio in "Venus Tragedie." One cannot be certain, however, as to whether dramatist or novelist was the borrower. That an indebtedness exists, seems in any case probable.

II

A famous passage is at the opening of III, ii. Hieronimo, entering, exclaims:

> Oh eies, no eies, but fountains fraught with teares;
> Oh life, no life, but liuely fourmes of death;
> Oh world, no world, but masse of publique wrongs.

[4] Pasilla's vengeance, like that of Bel-Imperia in Kyd's tragedy, is extremely ferocious. The cutting out of a tongue under different circumstances occurs also in the play. (For both, see *The Spanish Tragedy*, IV, iv).

[5] Similar incidents are to be found in *The First Part of Jeronimo*, II, v, and in Marston's *Antonio's Revenge*, IV, i. For a discussion of these episodes, see my article, "Some Parallels to Passages in *The First Part of Jeronimo*," *Modern Language Notes*, April, 1912.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

This recalls in form—a euphuistic antithesis—as well as in the wording, the first line of Sir Phillip Sidney's "Sonnet C" in *Astrophel and Stella*[6] (first printed in 1591, but composed before 1586, and probably circulated in MS before that year). The verse in question is as follows:

Oh tears! no tears but rain, from Beauty's skies.

An echo of Kyd's line appears in *Romeo and Juliet*, IV, v, 58, where Paris exclaims,

O love! O life! not life, but love in death!

Boas, who notes this Kydian reminiscence,[7] does not, however, call attention to Capulet's lament following that of Paris. It ends (l. 62) thus:

O child! O child! my soul, and not my child!

III

Near the beginning of II, i, occur the lines:

In time the sauuage Bull sustaines the yoake,
In time all haggard Hawkes will stoope to lure,
In time small wedges cleave the hardest Oake,
In time the Flint is pearst with softest shower.

It seems generally agreed that Kyd derived his lines from Thomas Watson's *Hekatompathia*, "Sonnet 47."[8] Watson's lines, which verbally differ very little from those of Kyd, are said by their author to come from the "Sonnetto 103" of Serafino dall' Aquila.[9]

[6] *Poems*, ed. J. Drinkwater. "Muses' Library," London, p. 200.

[7] *Op. cit.*, note on *The Spanish Tragedy*, III, ii, ll. 1-4 (p. 402).

[8] Ed. Arber in his "English Reprints," London, 1910, p. 83.

[9] In fact, according to Menghini's note on this sonnet in his edition of the *Rime* of Serafino (Bologna, 1894, I, 213), the poem is really by Panfilo Sasso, and is to be found in his *Sonetti e Capituli*, 1500. The sonnet is perhaps worth quotation in full:

Col tempo el villanel al giogo mena
El tór sí fiero e sí crudo animale;
Col tempo el falcon si usa a menar l'ale
E ritornar a te chiamato a pena.
Col tempo si domestica in catena
El bizarro orso, e'l feroce cingiale;
Col tempo l'acqua, che è sí molle e frale
Rompe el dur sasso, come el fosse arena.
Col tempo ogni robusto arbor cade;
Col tempo ogni alto monte si fa basso,
Et io col tempo non posso a pietade,
Mover un cor d'ogni dolcezza casso;
Onde avanza di orgoglio e crudeltade
Orso, toro, leon, falcone, e sasso.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

He quotes the first four lines, but uses in reality also the ninth verse of the Italian poem for his third line, and the seventh and eighth for his fourth. Sasso perhaps drew his inspiration in turn from the first eighteen verses of Book IV of the *Tristia* of Ovid,[10] wherein the lamenting poet cries that, though time works many specified changes, yet it has not brought him to a patient endurance of his exile.[11]

Watson's "Sonnet 77" of the *Hekatompathia* also has as its theme the idea that time causes everything to change. Here, however, the alterations are only natural and have no suggestion of the element of human persistence as an ally, in bringing them about, as in "Sonnet 47." The author gives as his source "*Serafine Sonnet* 132,"[12] and quotes the first four lines, explaining that for the rhyme's sake he has altered the order of the verses.

Giles Fletcher the Elder employs much the same conceit as do Watson and Kyd in "Sonnet XXVIII" of *Licia* (1593);[13] but Sir Sidney Lee derives it with good reason from the *Eratopaignon* of the Neapolitan poet, Hieronymus Augerianus.[14]

Other Elizabethan poets, and prose-writers, as well, have passages wherein is found the idea that all things come to pass in time, illustrated by the same figures. Certain of these antedate Watson's use of the conceit. The first in point of time is probably that in George Gascoigne's "Dan Bartholomew of Bathe," printed in the *Posies* (1573).[15] There occur the lines:

> The highest flying hauke will stoope at laste,
> The wildest beast is drawne with hungrye bitte
> To eate a homlye bayte some times in hast.

Here the figure of the hawk is used as in Serafino, Watson, and Kyd.

Next comes "The Sturdy Rock," perhaps by Thomas Marshall, which was included in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1576),[16]

---

[10] *Œuvres*, ed. D. Nisard, Paris.

[11] Sir Sidney Lee, *Elizabethan Sonnets*, I, lxxxiii, note 2.

[12] Menghini, *op. cit.*, I, 175, places this sonnet also among those doubtfully by Serafino. It occurs first in the Giunta edition of the *Rime*, Florence, 1516.

[13] Lee, *op. cit.*, II, 48.

[14] *Ibid.*, I, lxxiii, where reference is made to p. 28 of the 1582 Paris edition of Hieronimus's book.

[15] *Poetical Works*, ed. J. W. Cunliffe. Cambridge. P. 99.

[16] Reprinted by Bishop Percy in his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. See E. Walford's ed. of the *Reliques* in the "Chandos Classics," p. 209. Walford believes the author of the lines—"M. T."—to be Thomas Marshall.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

and the first two stanzas of which are found with a musical setting in *An Houres Recreation in Musicke* (1606), by Richard Alisõn. It is with these opening two stanzas that we are concerned. They run thus:

> The sturdy rock for all his strength
> By raging seas is rent in twaine:
> The marble stone is pearst at length,
> With little drops of drizling rain:
> The oxe doth yeeld unto the yoke,
> The steele obeyeth the hammer stroke.
>
> The stately stagge, that seemes so stout,
> By yalping hounds at bay is set:
> The swiftest bird, that flies about,
> Is caught at length in fowlers net:
> The greatest fish, in deepest brooke,
> Is soon deceived by subtill hooke.

Lines 3-5 and 9-10 are more or less parallel to the first, second and fourth verses of Kyd's passage, and recall Sasso's sonnet, ll. 1-2, 7-8, and 3-4, respectively.[17]

In "A Warning to London by the Fall of Antwerp," a ballad composed in, or soon after, 1576,[18] is the following passage in which occur at least two of the conventional illustrations of the changes wrought by time:

> The sturdy oke at length,
> When forse doth fail, though nere so tall,
> Resigneth up his strength
> By boistrous blasts unto the fal:
> The stately stag in time dooth yeeld
> Him self a pray to dogs in feeld:
> The pecock proud, the swelling swan,
> At last dooth serve the use of man.
> Pride, pompe, plumes gay,
> Must have a fall, who ere say nay:
> Hye mindes, state, power,
> Shall come to end within an houre.

In the preceding stanza of the ballad the oak, which figures in Watson and Kyd, besides being suggested by Sasso as the "robusto arbor," is to be found. As well, is cited the "stately stag" of

[17] In a note in his edition of the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, while discussing a passage in *The Scornful Lady*, II, ii, Henry Weber fails to identify a short speech as a quotation from *The Spanish Tragedy* ("In time the sturdy oak, sir—"), but suggests as its source "The Sturdy Rock." Dyce, in commenting upon the same line, points out that Weber is wrong, but, while quoting Kyd, thinks the line "almost proverbial" (Beaumont and Fletcher, *Works*, ed. Dyce, Boston, 1854, Vol. I, p. 426, note 5).

[18] Ed. for the Percy Society by J. P. Collier, I, 89 ff. Noted by Dyce, *loc. cit.*, and by Koeppel, *Anglistische Forschungen*, XX, 23, note 41 (where only the first four lines are quoted).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

"The Sturdy Rock." The peacock and the swan, however, seem original with the author of the lines. It should be noted that the changes of time are complicated with the idea that pride goes before a fall.

Boas observes[19] that the figure is used in Lyly's *Euphues* (1578-80), but cites only one passage in which it is employed, that in *Euphues The Anatomy of Wit*, p. 81. Later in the same part of the novel occurs another (p. 127), and a third use of the conceit is to be found in *Euphues His England*, p. 337.[20]

In 1593 Thomas Lodge brought the conceit into a euphuistic prose passage in his *Life and Death of William Longbeard*[21] in this manner:

> ... HUBERT, that knew well that soft drops in time, pierce hard stones, and that the Diamond though not tainted by the hammer is tempered in soft vineger, began to coulour where he might not command, and flatter where he could not inforce ....

Sasso's ll. 7-8, ll. 3-4 of "The Sturdy Rock," and the fourth line of Kyd's passage here are brought to mind by Lodge's "soft drops" and "hard stones."

Richard Barnfield's "The Second Dayes Lamentation" in his *The Affectionate Shepherd* (1594)[22] contains these verses:

> The hardest steele with fier doth mend his miss,
> Marble is mollifyde with drops of Raine.

The first line recalls the sixth of "The Sturdy Rock," and the second is a version of the usual commonplace.

Even Spenser fell into line, and we find accordingly in "Sonnet 18" of the *Amoretti* (1595):[23]

> The rolling wheele, that runneth often round,
> The hardest steele in tract of time doth teare:
> And drizzling drops, that often doe redound,
> The firmest flint doth in continuance weare.

The first two verses of the passage recall l. 6 of "The Sturdy Rock;" the last pair of lines imitates Sasso's ll. 7-8, though here the "drizzling drops" suggest the "drizling rain" of "The Sturdy Rock," and the "firmest flint," the "Flint" of *The Spanish Tragedy*.

[19] *Op. cit.*, note on II, i, ll. 1-10 (p. 398).

[20] References are to Arber's ed. of *Euphues*, London, 1868.

[21] *Complete Works*, printed for the Hunterian Club, Vol. II, p. 28.

[22] In *Some Longer Elizabethan Poems*, ed. by A. H. Bullen, London, 1903, p. 170. See also J. Dover Wilson, *John Lyly*, Cambridge, 1904, p. 46.

[23] *Complete Poems*, ed. R. E. N. Dodge, Boston, p. 721.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Spenser's "Sonnet XXXII"[24] begins:

> The paynefull smith with force of fervent heat
> The hardest yron soone doth mollify;
> That with his heavy sledge he can it beat,
> And fashion to what he it list apply.

Again, here Spenser seems to have had in mind l. 6 of "The Sturdy Rock." In both passages, it will be noted, human persistence enters as helping time in altering circumstances.

In Shakespeare's "Sonnet LXV" (before 1609), ll. 5-8 have a touch of the conceit:

> O, how shall summer's honey breath hold out
> Against the wrackful siege of batt'ring days,
> When rocks impregnable are not so stout,
> Nor gates of steel so strong but time decays?

Only in this sonnet, however, does Shakespeare approach the Watsonian or Kydian illustration of the changes of time.

James Mabbe, in his translation of Matteo Aleman's *Guzman de Alfarache* (1622),[25] has the following sentence:

> The often falling drop, hollowes the hardest stone that is; and stedfast perseverance still gets the victory: continuance crowneth our actions, and disposeth them to their intended ends.

Not time but perseverance is the conqueror here.

Possibly the idea of time, with or without human aid, as an alterer of all things came from the *Tristia* of Ovid directly into Gascoigne's and Marshall's verses, and at second hand from the Latin poet through Sasso's sonnets into Watson's poems, upon which, in his turn, Kyd drew. Basing his passage upon Ovid probably, Augerianus appears to have inspired Giles Fletcher. As to the other instances of the conceit, as in Lodge and Spenser, Sasso's sonnet "Col tempo el villanel" and perhaps "The Sturdy Rock," their figures by this time commonplaces, may be the sources. Still, by 1593 the idea had come close to being a mere rhetorical decoration—a convention—and so was equally near becoming a part of the common stock of poets to be drawn upon as the occasion served by whoever chose to use it.[26]

---

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 723-24.

[25] *The Rogue*, in "The Tudor Translations," London, 1924. Vol. I, p. 65.

[26] Several imitations of Kyd's passage, as well as references to it, are listed by Koeppel, *loc. cit.*; cf. also my *Relations of Shirley's Plays to the Elizabethan Drama*, pp. 380, 383.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

NOTES ON THOMAS KYD'S WORKS

By WILFRED P. MUSTARD
The Johns Hopkins University

The following notes are made with reference to *The Works of Thomas Kyd,* edited by F. S. Boas, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1901.

THE SPANISH TRAGEDIE

I,ii,83. "Phoebus wauing to the western deepe." Cp. *Wily Beguiled,* 252, "When Phoebus waues vnto the Westerne deepe."

I,iii,15. "Qui iacet in terra non habet unde cadat." From Alanus de Insulis, *Lib. Parab.* (Migne, ccx, 554).

I,iii,16-17. "In me consumpsit vires fortuna nocendo, Nil superest ut iam possit obesse magis." Cp. Seneca, *Agam.* 697-8, "Nec, si velint saevire, quo noceant habent. Fortuna vires ipsa consumpsit suas."

II,v,70. "Qui faciunt annorum obliuia, succos." Cp. Ovid, *Pont.* iv,10,19, "qui patriae faciant oblivia, sucos."

III,xiii,71. "May mooue the harts of warlike Myrmydons." Virgil, *Aen.* ii,6, "Quis talia fando Myrmidonum . . . Temperet a lacrimis?"

CORNELIA

I,i,84-92. "Thy Mast is shyuer'd, and thy maine-saile torne," etc. Cp. Horace's Ship of State, *Od.* i,14,4-16. (Other Latin sources of this play are cited in the new edition of Robert Garnier, *Œuvres Complètes,* by Lucien Pinvert, Paris, 1923).

II,ii,262. "And those two Scipios (that in person fought, Before the fearefull Carthagenian walls), Both brothers, and both warrs fierce lightning fiers." Garnier has, "et ces deux qui leurs corps Plantèrent pour barrière aux puniques efforts, Ces frères Scipions, deux foudres de la guerre," which must refer to the two brothers Cneius and Publius Scipio, who died in Spain in the year 212. The famous passage of Virgil, *Aen.* vi,842, "geminos, duo fulmina belli, Scipiadas, cladem Libyae," probably refers to the elder and the younger Africanus.

III,i,67-100. Cornelia's story about the ghost of Pompey should be compared with Seneca, *Troades,* 438-57.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

SOLIMAN AND PERSEDA

I,iii,79. "The earth is my Countrey, As the aire to the fowle, or the marine moisture To the red guild fish." Ovid, *F.* i,493, "Omne solum forti patria est, ut piscibus aequor, Ut volucri vacuo quicquid in orbe patet."

III,i,85. "As ayre bred Eagles, if they once perceiue That any of their broode but close their sight When they should gase against the glorious Sunne, They straight way sease vpon him with their talents, That on the earth it may vntimely die," etc. Pliny, *N.H.* x,3,10, "Haliaëtus tantum implumes etiamnum pullos suos percutiens subinde cogit adversos intueri solis radios et, si coniventem umectantemque animadvertit, praecipitat e nido velut adulterinum atque degenerem." Cp., also, Lucan, ix,902; Claudian, vi.

IV,i,30. "What are friends but one minde in two bodies?" An old Greek definition of friendship (Diog. Laert. v,1,20), μία ψυχὴ δύο σώμασιν ἐνοικοῦσα.

IV,i,70. "Iunoes goodly Swannes." Cp. Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, I,iii,71, "And whereso'er we went, like Juno's swans, Still we went coupled and inseparable."

IV,ii,6. "Where a man liues well, there is his countrie." "Patria est, ubicumque est bene" (Cic. *T.D.* v,37,108).

IV,ii,67. "O coelum, O terra, O maria, Neptune." From Terence, *Ad.* 790, "O caelum, o terra, o maria Neptuni."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

THE "EGLOGA SOBREL MOLINO DE VASCALON"

By JOSEPH E. GILLET
Bryn Mawr College

The little "égloga" printed here occurs on fols. 199-202 of a paper manuscript numbered 4114 in the Madrid *Biblioteca Nacional* (old signature M. 320) labeled on the back: 'Cancionero de obras inéditas,' containing 207 compositions in an eighteenth-century hand, but, according to Professor H. R. Lang, who has fully described the manuscript: "evidently a copy of several older collections of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries."[1]

Professor Bonilla[2] has mentioned this little piece together with the well-known dramatic passage in Iñigo de Mendoza's *Vita Christi*, of which the first dated edition appeared in 1482. It may indeed well be a late fifteenth-century or early sixteenth-century product, with enclitics such as *luegol* (32), *stal* (36), *comol* (49), *todol* (83), *bolveral* (91); the imperfect *podien* (51), the forms *grand* (51), *vivez* (88) and *non* (98) and the spelling *che* (90). Forms like *cas* (56) and *husia* (102) may point to a southern origin or copyist. The versification is smooth enough, the stanza being a combination of redondilla and quintilla, of which examples may be found *e.g.*, in Juan Manuel[3] or, for dramatic purposes, in Diego Sánchez de Badajoz. Indeed, logically this 'égloga,' with its display of technical knowledge, should be grouped with the works of this latter dramatist, along with his *introitos* of *pescadores* or *herradores*.

The original, which is in a very legible hand, is here reproduced without any additions or changes, even in punctuation, except for the [e] in the title. The lines have been numbered and a few notes appended.

[199 *ro.*] EGLOGA ENTRE JUAN MOLINERO [E] INIGO SITIO. SOBREL MOLINO DE VASCALON

Habla Iñigo Sitio

Asmo como caluorea

[1] *The so-called Cancionero de Pero Guillen de Segovia*, Revue hispanique XIX (1908) p. 58. Our item is nr. 10 in Mr. Lang's table of contents.

[2] *Las Bacantes o del origen del teatro*, Madrid, 1921, p.90, *n.* 1.

[3] *Cf.* Benot, *Prosodia castellana*, III, 261 *ff.*

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

parece carrabal cielo
testezuelo hallo el suelo
y aun semejante coxea
rie ellalma en ellotero
empinado esta el lucero
y la guarda pusal norte
cudo cabremos deporte
con el nuebo molinero.

Pero Uebo de Civera
tanto llena questa saca
que temor en bestia flaca
no llegar á la ribera
[199 *vo.*] y recelome del rio
por caqueste asnillo mio
como quier que tiene ducho
segund veo el agua ducho
temo no me queden frio.

Habla el Molinero

Abagada es la creciente
pasa pasa mingo sicio
no tespantes del bullicio
que remuebe la corriente
hecha, sfuerzate y abiva
por lo manso ellagua riba
quanto mas pudieres suso
que quien vuelbe carayuso
luegol hilo lo derriba

Habla Iñigo Sicio

Yo querria matrever
[200 *ro.*] y no hervano camino
dime como stal molino
pueden ya todos moler
por que vine una vegada
en la otra trasnochada
vi llenados los pontones
los rodeznos, y timones
la casa desvaratada.

Las Muelas todas cachadas
respandado el paravso
quantas cosas Dios y puso
por las Islas derramadas
acumbrado un gran atajo
del orrura, y del burrajo
comol rio fue avenido
que llegar en el hexido
no podien sin grand trabajo.

[200 *vo.*] Habla el Molinero.

Pasa mingo ven en paz
que ya nostan comostaban
los terrones qu enpachaban
a las aguas en el cas
he tomado por empresa
reparar asi la presa
que los que mijor molistes
ha ya dias que no vistes
tal arina enellartesa.

Habla Mingo Sicio.

Ala mi fen ti menoto
que por mi desaventura

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

siempre he tras picadura
o en molino mucho boto
y tan mal desconcertado
que unas veces he llebado
escaldada la harina
[201 *ro.*] otras hecha tan ayna
que no va medio cortado.
Dice Juan Molinero
Eso abrá muy buen emienda
porne buenos Aceñeros
que los malos quartaneros
estragan la molienda
cargaban demasiado
a la tolba en mucho grado
tan viva lataravilla
que era gran maravilla
no salir todo salbado.

Maquilaban tras doblado
y hurtaban todol trigo
ora con nuebo castigo
se terna dello cuydado
estara quien mire y ande
[201 *vo.*] quien lo rija, quien lo mande
con derecho con vivez
tal que no quite la vez
al che quitó por el grande.

Bolveral costal tan lleno
que despues de maquilado
el menguado quede lleno
y el lleno bien atestado
mas aqueste Vascalon
es de una condicion
quel remedio tiene caro
si le non ponen reparo
los maestros daviñon.
Dice Inigo Sicio, y hacefin
Jura mi que magasajo
Juan en verte buena husia
mas la presa está tan sucia
[202 *ro.*] que ternas asaz frabajo
plega Dios por que la gente
se mantenga, y se contente
vandear tanbien en esto
que les des en paz, y presto
correcion, y bien moliente.

NOTES:—*Title.* Madoz (*Diccionario geográfico*) does not mention "Vascalón".—*Line* 6. *Read* c'arriba el cielo — 7. halló — 9. *B.* ellalba(?)— 16. que he temor— 21. aguaducho — 22. quede en frio — 23. *B.* abargada (?) = embargada (?) — 35. hacer vano — 40. *B.* llevados(?) — 44. *B.* respaldado (?) — 48. orrura cf. *Libro de Apolonio,* ed. Marden, st. 312; Berceo, *Milagros,* ed. Solalinde, I, st. 283. — 63. fe en ti — 65. *B.* traspicadura (?); the *Diccionario de Autoridades,* vo. *picadura,* quotes from Fr. Luis de Granada: "Assi como los Molineros pican las piedras, para que corten mejor el grano: en lugar desta *picadura* formó el Criador nuestras muelas, . . . con alguna desigualdad que sirve de *picadura*". — 66. *B.* el(?) molino — 82. *B.* trasdoblado = triplicado — 99. A reference to the milling industry of Avignon, France (?) — 107. bandear = ingeniarse.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

BOOK REVIEWS

Billur Köschk. Türkische Märchen, von Theodor Menzel. (*Beiträge zur Märchenkunde des Morgenlandes.* II. Band) xii + 198 pp. Orient-Buchhandlung Heinz Lafaire, Hanover, 1923.

This is the first translation into an Occidental language of a collection of Turkish fairy tales which deserves the attention of folk-lorists, if only on account of the general scarcity of genuinely popular Turkish tales accessible to Occidental scholars (Ignácz Kunos, *Turkish Fairy Tales and Folk Tales,* London, 1901; *Türkische Volksmärchen aus Stambul,* Leiden, 1905; cf. V. Chauvin, *Zeitsch. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde,* XVI (1906), pp. 239 ff.).

As is but to be expected, considering the rôle played by women in the transmission of folk-tales and the Oriental harem system, the tales here collected are of the international rather than of an Ottoman character. No. 2 (*Der schöne Halwa-Händler*) is a Turkish version of the Crescentia story; No. 3 (*Der schöne Kaffeekoch*) is a variant of the French *fabliau Du Chevalier qui fist tes cons parler* (Montaiglon et Renaud, *Recueil,* No. 147; cf. also Zaunert, *Deutsche Märchen seit Grimm,* Jena, 1922, pp. 216 ff. G. Sercambi, *Novelle inedite,* ed. Renier, Torino, 1889, No. 102). No. 4 (*Der weinende Granat-Apfel und die lachende Quitte*) contains, among others, the motive of *The Lady and the Monster* (Kunos, *Turkish Fairy Tales,* pp. 102 ff.; Chauvin, p. 242). No. 6 (*Die Schöne, die ihren Wunsch nicht erreichte*) is the Märchen of the *False Bride* (Kunos, p. 30; Chauvin, p. 241); No. 7 (*Der Kummervogel*) is a variant of Grimm's *Marienkind;* No. 8 is *Dat Erdmänneken* with characteristics peculiar to the Slavonic, Greek, and Asiatic versions of the tale and combined with the *Goldener* type (Kunos, p. 84; Chauvin, p. 241). No. 9 (*Der alte Spindelhändler*) is a Blue-beard story; No. 11 (*Dschefâ und Sefâ*) belongs to the cycle of *Faithful John;* the two heroes are twins. No 12 (*Ali Dschengie*) is the story of the *Wizard's Apprentice* (Grimm, No. 68). No. 14 (*Die schwarze Schlange*) is a combination of the motive of the *Snake Bridegroom* with that of the *Innocent and Persecuted Queen.* No. 5 (*Die Schöne, die ihren Wunsch erreichte*) has several parallels in the Balkans (Von Hahn, *Griechische und albanesische Märchen,* München, 1918, I, 68, II, 334; E.M. Geldart, *Folk-lore of Modern Greece,* London, 1884, p. 62; Kunos, p. 188; *Am Urquell,* IV, 269; Chauvin, p. 242); so has the warning to strike but one blow (p. 54) (Kunos, pp. 90; 113; 145; 147; *Arch. f. slav. Philolog.,* I (1876), p. 281, No. 8; Von Hahn, No. 70, II, 63; Carnoy et Nicolaides, *Traditions populaires de l'Asie Mineure,* Paris, 1889, p. 75). The motive of the three moirai (in this case three dervishes) appearing at the cradle of the new-born child (p. 79) occurs in Modern Greek folklore (Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im neuen,* Bonn, 1864, p. 76; B. Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen und das hellenische Altertum,* Leipzig, 1871, pp. 107; 211; *Griechische Märchen,*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Sagen und Volkslieder, Leipzig, 1877, pp. 67-68; 75; 98; Kunos, p. 32; Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, Cambridge, 1903, pp. 125-126; Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, pp. 123; 125) but also elsewhere. The life of hero or heroine bound up with a bracelet or necklace (p. 79) is an Oriental motive (M. Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, Phildelphia, 1870, p. 274); so is the enamourment in a dream or through a picture (E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, Leipzig, 1914, pp. 47 ff. and 53 ff.). The frequent occurrence of the number 40 is peculiar to tales of Turanian, Greek, or Semitic origin (O. Gruppe, *Bericht*, etc, Leipzig, 1921, p. 282; Mazon, *Contes Slaves de la Macédoine Sud-Occidentale*, Paris, 1923, pp. 159; 171). On p. 57 the practice of incubation is referred to.

The neat appearance of the volume and the excellent print enhance its general usefulness.

ALEXANDER HAGGERTY KRAPPE.

University of Minnesota

Shakespeare's Debt to Montaigne, by George Coffin Taylor. 66 pp. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1925.

In *Shakespeare's Debt to Montaigne* Dr. George Coffin Taylor makes a welcome return to English scholarship in America. He recognizes the unwillingness of Shakespeare scholars, with a few very notable exceptions, to be convinced that Montaigne exercised great influence on Shakespeare, and sets out in the book before us to "force the issue." He contributes about one hundred "close phrasal correspondences" (many of which are indeed convincingly close), and about one hundred "additional parallels deserving of notice." He also presents glossaries of one hundred and eleven phrases and about seven hundred and fifty words, selected from Florio's Montaigne, which were used by Shakespeare during and after, but not before, the year 1603, when Florio's translation was published. It also appears that Montaigne was most freely used in *Hamlet*, which is thought to have been revised or rewritten about 1603, and progressively with less frequency in succeeding plays. Personally I am willing to grant Dr. Taylor's contention, and shall devote the rest of my limited space to two remarks.

It cannot, I think, be definitely shown that there is any absolute trace of Montaigne in the First Quarto of *Hamlet*. There are three places which concern Dr. Taylor's parallels: I, iii, 65 (*Beware of entrance to a quarrel*, etc.) is closest, but it is not very close and is a familiar bit of moralizing. For I, v, 71, Q_1 has *barked, and tetterd*, but does not have any form of the word *crust*. In V, ii, 351, Q_1 has *I am more an antike Roman. Then a Dane*, and in it Hamlet asks Horatio to live and tell the story, but it does not contain the idea of its being a sacrifice to live for one's friend, which seems to be a significant omission. The parallel to II, ii, 263-272, occurs in F_1 only and may be a later amplification of the text. On the other hand, III, ix, 161-166, appears in Q_2 and not in F_1, which, however, shows traces of the parallel. One would think that the folio here shows evidence of cutting, since line 160 in F_1 has two extra feet and Q_2, although corrupt in line 166, is metrically correct.

My other remark is this. Shakespeare shows evidence that he is not swallowing Montaigne whole. He uses Montaigne's sentiments about the churlishness of old age and the propriety of letting youth and strength succeed to the

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

fortune which age can no longer use as the substance of the wicked letter concocted by Edmund in *King Lear*, and regards it apparently as a sinful doctrine. Montaigne's paragraph on "idle-fallow grounds," I, 39, (for which Dr. Taylor finds no less than three parallels) is used by Shakespeare as a basis of Iago's wicked philosophy of selfishness in *Othello*, I, iii, 322-337. One also sees the dependence on Montaigne of Lear's black pessimism in the sixth scene of the fourth act of *King Lear*. In other cases, however, the dependence is also an agreement, as in the famous speech of Ulysses on rank and order (*T. & C.* I, iii).

H.C.

University of Iowa

The Panchatantra Reconstructed, an Attempt to Establish the Lost Original Sanskrit Text of the Most Famous of Indian Story-Collections on the Basis of the Principal Extant Versions, by Franklin Edgerton. Volume 1, Text and Critical Apparatus. Volume 2, Introduction and Translation (Volumes 2 and 3 of the American Oriental Series). vi + 408; x + 405 pp. American Oriental Society, New Haven, Conn.

For more than a century Sanskritists of the Western World have cherished the hope that a copy of the original Pañcatantra might be found. When J. Hertel discovered the Tantrākhyāyika some twenty years ago, he at first thought that this might prove to be the famous work itself. But subsequent study showed that it was merely one more of the many versions, although a very important one. The interest in this story-collection is not surprising when one considers the very great influence which this work has had upon the literatures of the world, having been reproduced in more than fifty languages in over two hundred versions which have drawn their material entirely or in part from it. In the absence of any likelihood of the discovery of any manuscript of the original work Edgerton has attempted to "follow back the streams of Pañcatantra tradition in the hope of finding their source," to reconstruct it by applying the methods of textual criticism, by collating the various works which have drawn upon the Pañcatantra for material. "If any study in literary genetics has interest or value," he says, "surely it must be worth while to recreate the original form of a work that has enjoyed such enormous popularity in so many different times and lands." This he has done with a creditable degree of success.

The first volume of the present work contains his reconstructed Pañcatantra, which he believes "turns out to have been a finer work, artistically, than any of its descendants," for "when they depart from the original, they almost always make it worse." Naturally much of the reconstructed work seems fairly certain, both in contents and language, while other portions must be more or less conjectural. By printer's devices,—a delight to the scholar and a nuisance to the general reader,—he has indicated the degrees of certainty which he entertains for his conjectures. Profuse textual notes, placed on the same page with the text, make approximately three-fourths of the volume.

The general reader and student of general literature will find the second volume most interesting. In it the author gives an account of the different versions which he has used in reconstructing the original, followed by a detailed account of the methods used in his work. It is inevitable that the re-

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

viewer of this work should compare it with the corresponding studies of Johannes Hertel, whose profound scholarship and comprehensive labors in the field of Pañcatantra literature have given him a position of recognized authority. Edgerton, who frankly acknowledges his obligations to Hertel, differs from him in many important points. He convincingly establishes his own stemma, which is radically different from Hertel's. Instead of two independent streams of original Pañcatantra as claimed by Hertel, Edgerton maintains there are four with traces in Pūrnabhadra of a fifth. While recognizing the great importance of the Tantrākhyāyika, he does not rate it relaitvely as highly as Hertel does in his evaluation of the various versions. Incidentally Edgerton makes extensive contributions to the betterment of the text of this version.

In Chapter VIII Edgerton sums up the evidence of the external facts of the Pañcatantra: That it was written in Sanskrit some time within the first six centuries of the Christian Era; that nothing is known of the author further than that he was an orthodox Hindu who lived possibly in the southwest part of India; that it was a political textbook, the stories making up the work being told by a wise brahman for the edification and instruction of three ignorant princes. In this Edgerton makes slight, if any, contribution to the established views. But in the matter of the story-contents of the original, on the basis of his comparative study of the versions, he includes much which has previously been regarded as non-original, new matter, which had been added to expanded versions.

Edgerton's translation of his "reconstructed Panchatantra" completes the volume, thus making available for the general reader this story-fountain heretofore unknown in modern times in its original form. In spite of the great ingenuity, laborious care, and cautious scholarship evidenced in the main objective, the reconstruction,—still we should prefer to read these stories in the well-known versions—the greatest contribution of the work lies in the encyclopedic Introduction and the Critical Apparatus, which introduce a new era in Pañcatantra studies.

FRANKLIN H. POTTER.

University of Iowa

Streitberg Festgabe, herausgegeben von der Direktion der vereinigten sprachwissenschaftlichen Institute an der Universität zu Leipzig, Markert und Petters Verlag, Leipzig, 1924. xv + 441 pp.

This book contains contributions from fifty-four friends and students of Professor Wilhelm Streitberg and was dedicated to him on his sixtieth birthday, February 23, 1924. It is a worthy compliment to a worthy scholar. One of the greatest rewards that a teacher may hope to win is the admiration and love of his students. Professor Streitberg has earned this reward in abundant measure, and these scholarly articles are only symbols of that admiration and that love. The titles cover a wide range of territory from Olsen's "Der Runenstein von Varnum" to Liebich's "Lateinisch campus als Lehnwort im Indischen" with an intermediate station, Vasmer's "Iraniches aus Südrussland."

Twenty-eight of the articles are by scholars in Germany. About fifteen other countries are represented in the remaining twenty-six. Professor Maurice

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Bloomfield carries the banner for the United States with his searching contribution entitled "On Vedic Agni Kravyavahana and Agni Kavyavahana." There is such a variety of material that it is not easy to make a choice for brief mention but each reader can find something of interest. We can say with Goethe:

> Wer vieles bringt, wird manchem etwas bringen;
> Und jeder geht zufrieden aus dem Haus.

Professor Max Förster's contribution "Ablaut in Flussnamen" will be sure to attract attention. He devotes his twenty-seven pages to the two names Wye and Ash and their variants. Professor J. Melich, of Budapest, discusses the Hungarian river name Tisza "Teiss." Professor F. Holthausen submits a list of eleven "Etymologische Forschungen." In one he offers objection to Förster's explanation of Old English sméag(e)an, as given in the latter's *Altenglisches Lesebuch.*

Scholars who are interested in *Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft* should by all means add this *Festgabe* to their libraries. It is a mine of profound scholarship.

C.B.W.

University of Iowa

Woman in the Life and Work of Gutzkow, by Otto Paul Schinnerer. Columbia University Press, New York, 1924. xi + 127 pp.

The author draws attention to the fact that many of Gutzkow's works are really confessions and reflections of personal experience. A careful study of his works, letters, and notebooks has shown that this personal element is most prominent in the productions that are concerned with women. It had been more or less generally believed that his writings are entirely objective.

The book is divided into three parts: I Gutzkow's Personal Relations with Women; II The Reflection of Gutzkow's Experiences in his Works; and III Woman's Emancipation and Free Love. The second part is the most important in a study of Gutzkow as a literary man, and particularly in view of his efforts to establish a closer connection between literature and life. We can mention only a few points.

Following Houben, Dr. Schinnerer traces the influence of Rosalie Scheidemantel upon Gutzkow's works. Strange to say this influence did not appear, except in one instance, in the early stages of their courtship. In this period he was less sentimental than later, for he was influenced by Börne and Menzel and he had slight liking for Heine's sentimental love lyrics, but his acquaintance with Laube brought about a change. As Gutzkow developed in literary matters and grew in fame a barrier arose between him and Rosalie who remained the innocent child of their early friendship, but this barrier, a conflict between their stations in life, furnished him a real problem for literary treatment. He gave poetic expression to the hopelessness of his affection for Rosalie in *Kanarienvogels Liebe und Leid*, and besides his experience with her is reproduced dramatically in *Uriel Acosta*, which also reflects the love and the devotion of Therese von Bacheracht. Rosalie plays indirectly a part in the origin of *Wally, die Zweiflerin*, which is called a landmark in Gutzkow's life as well as in the history of Young Germany. Its publication caused Gutzkow's

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

imprisonment and the suppression of his works when those of Heine, Laube, and others were likewise put under the ban. Upon the works of these men was laid the responsibility for the charges of immorality against Young Germany.

In the play *Werner oder Herz und Welt* it is easy, Dr. Schinnerer thinks, to identify Gutzkow's "wiedererwachte erste Liebe" for Rosalie, and Gutzkow himself has acknowledged that he has here dramatized this first love.

The book has a very interesting Conclusion of fourteen pages. The whole work is much more readable than many pieces of research for it remains human. C.B.W.

University of Iowa

Einführung in das Studium der Altfranzösischen Literatur, von Karl Voretsch. xix + 318 pp. + bibliography. Niemeyer, Halle, third edition, 1925.

In this third edition (first edition 1905) the author speaks briefly of the difficulties besetting the labors of German scholars since the war, and modestly hopes that, in spite of all, he has not neglected anything of importance.

The volume is logically divided into various sections. An introduction treats the history of Gaul from pre-Celtic through Germanic times, touching on ethnology, language and the beginnings of literature. The body of the book takes up the subject of literature by periods and genres: the earliest monuments, transition from national epics to those of the crusades and classical antiquity, the flowering of the courtly romance, the decline of Old French literature. Under each of the main divisions are found chapters with subheadings that treat the details that go to make up the whole.

Really adequate comment on the manifold features of so voluminous a work would far exceed the space at the reviewer's disposal. He therefore contents himself by bespeaking the special attention of those intersted to the author's presentation of the theories of the origin of the Old French epic and his impartial summary of the evidence (pp. 94-104). C.E.Y.

University of Iowa

Ruzzante, un Dramaturge Populaire de la Renaissance Italienne, par Alfred Mortier. Vol. I. 276 pp. Peyronnet, Paris, 1925.

This is the first of two volumes devoted to the life and works of Angelo Beolco, called Ruzzante, an actor-author of the late Italian Renaissance, to whom histories of Italian literature devote a sentence or two of the "among those present" type.

Beolco owes his obscurity to two facts: the difficulty of reading his Paduan dialect interspersed with coined and obsolete words; the going out of fashion of the subject-matter of his comedies, holding up to harsh ridicule the life and manners of peasants.

The author has carefully assembled evidence to prove the great contemporary repute of Beolco as an actor and dramatist. Chapters are devoted to his life, professional career and fame, to an analysis of his works and to his reasons for the use of a dialect. Sections on iconography and bibliography conclude this contribution to our knowledge of a man highly esteemed by his contemporaries but neglected by posterity. The promised second volume will contain French translations of the plays of Ruzzante.

C.E.Y.

University of Iowa

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

A History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama, by Allardyce Nicoll. ix + 431 pp. Cambridge University Press, London, 1925.

Professor Nicoll's latest book, the sequel to his *History of Restoration Drama*, goes far toward bridging the gap between Elizabethan drama and that of today. The attractive opening chapter, divided into sections entitled, "the audience," "the theatre," "the actors and actresses," holds out a promise of interest which the following pages scarcely fulfill. The book proper is an attempt to fit the dramas of fifty years, occasionally in a rather Procrustean fashion, into a series of arbitrary classifications. Tragedies, for instance, are divided into heroic plays, pseudo-classic tragedies, Augustan tragedies, and domestic tragedies. As the author concedes, and as anyone must realize, classifications of this sort can never be wholly satisfactory. Such plays as *Jane Shore, The Conscious Lovers, The Funeral*,—to name the first which come to mind,— reveal decidedly conflicting elements; and yet such classification as Professor Nicoll undertakes is indubitably useful, and is here managed with good sense. The one general fact disclosed,—the variety and complexity of the drama,— prepares us for some of the author's specific conclusions: that heroic plays had an important influence on the early eighteenth century; that there was a decided revival of interest in masques; that burlesques and pantomimes became powerful rivals to standard plays; and that the vogue of sentimental drama, despite the additions which he makes to the list of Professor Bernbaum, was distinctly more limited than has been supposed. Making up in solidity and inclusiveness what it lacks in attractiveness of style, the work is appropriately concluded with excerpts from official documents, and a laborious and useful handlist of all plays produced during the half-century, together with a full record of the performances accorded each.

BARTHOLOW V. CRAWFORD.

University of Iowa

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

PHILOLOGICAL QUARTERLY

VOLUME V APRIL, 1926 NUMBER 2

SOME PROBLEMS IN SCENIC ANTIQUITIES[1]

By Roy C. Flickinger
State University of Iowa

I.

Cicero, *Cato Maior De Senectute* XVIII, 63*f*: Quin etiam memoriae proditum est, cum Athenis ludis quidam in theatrum grandis natu venisset, magno consessu locum nusquam ei datum a suis civibus; cum autem ad Lacedaemonios accessisset, qui legati cum essent certo in loco consederant, consurrexisse omnes illi dicuntur et senem sessum recepisse. Quibus cum a cuncto consessu plausus esset multiplex datus, dixisse ex eis quendam Atheniensis scire quae recta essent sed facere nolle.

This famous anecdote has received less consideration from the standpoint of scenic antiquities than it deserves. On the one hand, since it involves no technical term more significant than the innocuous *theatrum*, it has been ignored by the modern writers who have treated of the technical terminology of the ancient theater.[2] On the other hand, the commentators upon Cicero's essay, being neither specially interested in such matters nor always fully informed of the problems involved, have disregarded the theatrical implications of the episode, or sometimes have set down comments which are far from being helpful or accurate.

For example, one editor refers to "the orchestra in which, *in the Roman theater*, were the seats for the senators and other dis-

[1] Read before the American Philological Association at Cornell University, Dec. 30, 1925, under the title of "Scaenica Altera." A continuation of "Scaenica" in *T.A.P.A.*, XL(1909), 109-20.

[2] Cf. Christ, "Bedeutungswechsel einiger auf das griechische Theater bezüglichen Ausdrücke," *Jahrb. f. klass. Philologie*, CIL (1894), 38 ff.; Dörpfeld-Reisch, *Das griechische Theater* (1896), 283ff.; Müller, "Untersuchungen zu den Bühnen-alterthümern," *Philologus*, Supplementband VII(1899), 3ff.; Flickinger, "The Meaning of ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς in Writers of the Fourth Century," *University of Chicago Decennial Publications*, First Series, VI(1902), 13 ff., and *Plutarch as a Source of Information on the Greek Theater* (1904), 23-59; Scherling, *De Voce* Σκηνή *Quantum ad Theatrum Graecum Pertinet Significatione et Usu* (1906); and Flickinger, "Scaenica," *T.A.P.A.*, XL (1909), 109ff., and *The Greek Theater and its Drama*[2](1922), 57ff.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

tinguished persons, such as foreign ambassadors" (italics mine). Cicero's text,[3] however, makes plain that the incident took place in the Athenian theater. Accordingly, one of our best American scholars wrote: "The reference is probably to the great Dionysia .... special seats in the orchestra were reserved for ambassadors and other distinguished guests." But the Athenian theater seems not to have been reconstructed along Roman lines until the time of Nero,[4] and there is some reason for believing that the Roman custom of placing seats in the orchestra was not introduced prior to the Phaedrus theater of the third or fourth century A.D.[5]

It is true that there is nothing by which the supposed date of the event described may be established, but of course it occurred before the time when Cicero wrote his *De Senectute*—a full century before the Nero theater—and probably before the dramatic time of the work (150 B.C., cf. V, 14 and the commentaries *ad loc.*). In fact, it is perhaps to be assigned to the fourth or fifth century B.C.[6] But in any case, the incident must be explained in terms of Greek practices; and, for that matter, the Roman custom of sitting in the orchestra does not assist in removing the difficulties of visualizing the story.

But there are a few editors who cite the Greek practice of προεδρία without committing a *faux pas* about seats in the orchestra. The custom of reserving seats in the front rows of the *cavea* of the theater for priests and officials and honored guests such as foreign ambassadors is, of course, well attested both by literary evidence and by inscriptions upon stone seats which are still preserved in the theater of Dionysus Eleuthereus.[7] Demosthenes' indignant question whether he should have ordered the director of the theater not to assign Philip's ambassadors a place for witnessing the Dionysia[8] perhaps implies that there were no definite seats permanently reserved for ambassadors as there were for certain local officials; but in any case

[3] The story is repeated by Valerius Maximus (IV. 5, ext. 2) but without definitizing the details.

[4] Cf. Flickinger, *The Greek Theater and its Drama*[2] (1922), 72 ff.

[5] Cf. *ibid.* 75.

[6] According to the terms of the alliance which followed the Peace of Nicias but was violated within seven years, Spartan ambassadors were required to attend the Dionysia in Athens every year, cf. Thucyd., V, 23, 4.

[7] Both kinds of evidence are conveniently summarized by Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*[3] (revised by Pickard-Cambridge, 1907), 335 f.

[8] Cf. *De Corona* 28: .... ἢ θέαν μὴ κατανεῖμαι τὸν ἀρχιτέκτον' αὐτοῖς κελεῦσαι; Cf. also Aeschines, *Falsa Leg.* 110 f.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

there can be no doubt as to the general position of the seats which the Spartans occupied on this occasion. They were somewhere well down in the front of the auditorium, *honoratissimo loco,* as Valerius Maximus (IV, 5, ext. 2) expressed it.

Now I have been unable to find any one who has tried to carry the analysis further. In conversation with fellow teachers of the *De Senectute* practically all have stopped right at this point. Under the spur of my questions, some have suggested that the old man entered by one of the two *parodoi* and walked along until he came to the Spartans who rose in a body and gave him a seat. The difficulty with this explanation is that it reduces the length of the incident and the duration of the old man's search for a place. Under this theory of "staging" the story, the Spartans would have been among the first whom the old man approached, only a few Athenians (and those men who for official reasons might have thought that they had some justification for clinging to their places) would have given him the cold shoulder, and the whole thing would have been over without many of the assembled spectators being aware of what was going on. Whereas the whole point of the anecdote consists in the fact that the old man had made a prolonged search, had attracted the attention of the vast assemblage (*magno consessu*), and had been sent on his way by the οἱ πολλοί of his own people (*a suis civibus*) before the Spartans had a chance of displaying their traditional consideration for the aged. It must be remembered, too, that the front row of the Athenian *cavea* consisted of sixty-seven individual marble *thronoi* with backs, seats which were too narrow to be shared with anyone. If the occupant of such a chair relinquished it, he was without recourse. In the final arrangements in the theater of Dionysus at least sixty of these sixty-seven *thronoi* were assigned to the holders of certain positions which may still be read from the inscription on each chair; cf. Dörpfeld-Reisch, *Das griechische Theater,* 47-49. Fifty of them were for priests. Therefore, in the very first row there was no room for a considerable body[9] of ambassadors, who must accordingly have been located a little further back. But outside of the front row nearly all the seats were stone benches marked with vertical lines engraved at intervals of sixteen inchs. Consequently it was possible for the Spartan ambassadors to have sprung to their feet (*consurrexisse*) at the old man's ap-

[9] Seventeen Spartans took the oath of adherence to the alliance mentioned on p. 98, n. 6.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

proach and then, after he had been seated, to have crowded themselves more or less uncomfortably into the remaining space without any one of them being forced out altogether. The story, therefore, loses much of its point if the contrast is permitted to lie between the politeness of the Spartans on their benches and the selfishness of the Athenian dignitaries in their individual chairs. No; the conduct of the ambassadors must be brought into comparison with that of the general audience which also sat on benches.

Of course, it would be possible to maintain that the old man entered by the *parodos* opposite the part of the theater where the Spartans sat, walked along the passageway encircling the orchestra to one of the nearer radiating aisles which did not pass the envoys, continued into the longitudinal diazoma, and finally came down again by an aisle which brought him near the visitors from Sparta. There is no way of disproving this view, but I am inclined to favor another interpretation.

The Athenian theater is somewhat unusual in having upper entrances into the *cavea* in addition to the *parodoi* which debouch into the orchestra.[10] An ancient road, well up the slope of the Acropolis, had been incorporated into the theater when it was constructed upon this site; and in order that this might continue in use as a thoroughfare when theatrical performances were not in progress, upper entrances to the theater were placed at the points of intersection, and the road, within the limits of the theater, served as a *diazoma* to divide the θέατρον proper [11] from the ἐπιθέατρον. It is my belief that the old man entered at one of these upper *parodoi* after the auditorium was already packed, presently began to attract attention by drifting aimlessly about ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν[12] where no seats were reserved and every man had the pick of whatever benches might still be unoccupied (if any), and finally came in his desperation down toward the front and was rescued by the well-bred[13] Spartans. Thus the sixty-seven dignitaries in the front row of seats never were put to the test, and the Athenian applause was no reflection upon their own officials (which would have been another breach of good manners) but upon themselves. It seems to

[10] There are extra entrances also in the theaters at Thoricus, Mantinea, Messene, etc.

[11] The primary meaning of θέατρον refers to the space occupied by the audience, cf. Flickinger, *The Greek Theater and its Drama*, 60, n.1.

[12] Cf. Demosthenes, *De Corona* 28.

[13] *Optime morati*, in Cicero's phrase.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

me that this interpretation of Cicero's words best accords with the setting and atmosphere of the whole story.

II.

Pollux, *Onomasticon* IV, 123: μέρη δὲ θεάτρου πυλὶς καὶ ψαλὶς καὶ κατατομή, κερκίδες, σκηνή, ὀρχήστρα, λογεῖον, προσκήνιον, παρασκήνια, ὑποσκήνιον. καὶ σκηνὴ μὲν ὑποκριτῶν ἴδιον, ἡ δὲ ὀρχήστρα τοῦ χοροῦ . . . .

Several years ago, after a brief period of tergiversation,[14] I came to the conclusion that in Pollux σκηνή never meant "stage" but merely "scene-building." "Pollux catalogues eleven parts of a theater [including θυμέλη, which occurs just beyond the text, cited above]. Of these, only six concern us at present: σκηνή, orchestra, logium, proscenium, parascenia, and hyposcenium (IV, 123). Dörpfeld thinks that Pollux is describing the Greek Hellenistic theater, but Pollux was for many years a professor at Athens and dedicated his work to the Emperor Commodus (161-192 A.D.). Unless his language prevents it, it is more natural to suppose that he had the Athenian structure of his own day in mind, and this would be the Nero theater. In that case, every term falls into place. For the Nero theater logium could refer to the stage alone; and as there would be no sense in Pollux mentioning two words for stage and since no other term for scene-building as a whole (including logium, proscenium, and parascenia) appears in his list, σκηνή must still mean scene-building and not stage."[15]

Accordingly I am naturally interested in the fact that Fensterbusch has just adopted the same point of view.[16] He rightly appeals to the phrase εἰς τὸ λογεῖον τῆς σκηνῆς in the Delian inscriptions as showing that the logium was a part of the σκηνή, and neatly draws up the equation: σκηνή [in the broadest sense] = Bühnengebäude [*i.e.* σκηνή in a narrower sense]+λογεῖον. Now σκηνή occurs but once in the list; and its position before ὀρχήστρα, not among the subordinate terms λογεῖον . . . . ὑποσκήνιον, shows that it is used in the broad sense and on a parity with ὀρχήστρα. Fensterbusch believes that this contrasted jextaposition of σκηνή and ὀρχήστρα is explicable only on the basis of the *Gegensatz* between "Bühnengebäude + λογεῖον," on the one hand, and ὀρχήστρα on the other, "zumal wenn die Bühne lediglich den *scaenici actores*, die Orchestra den *thymelici* zugewiesen ist." To me these final words constitute

[14] Cf. *Plutarch as a Source of Information on the Greek Theater* (1904), 45.
[15] Cf. *The Greek Theater and its Drama* (1918), 97 f.
[16] Cf. "Σκηνὴ bei Pollux", *Hermes*, LX (1925), 112.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

an unfortunate addition to an article which otherwise is altogether acceptable. They attempt to fasten too heavy a burden upon a piece of evidence which is entirely too slight to receive it. Fensterbusch would have done far better to see that Pollux' dictum, σκηνή .... χοροῦ, is to be explained by reference to contemporaneous conditions in the Athenian theater (that of Nero) and that the somewhat similar words of Vitruvius (V. 7, 3), to which Fensterbusch here alludes, are to be interpreted in terms of the Graeco-Roman theaters, especially in Asia Minor, and the contemporaneous plays there, in which the chorus was either non-existent or negligible.[17]

This understanding of Pollux now meets confirmation in a bit of evidence from Ephesus. Above the highest row of seats in this theater there have been found remains of a portico, which Heberdey saw was designated by the word ἀντίσκηνος (sc. στοά) in inscription number 41.[18] This is the first appearance of this word, which Warnecke[19] has just fitted into its proper place by quoting Vitruvius V, 6, 4: "tectum porticus, quod futurum est in summa gradatione, cum scaenae altitudine libratum perficiatur ideo, quod vox crescens aequaliter ad summas gradationes et tectum perveniet." Now this addition to the Ephesian theater was perhaps constructed during the life time of Pollux.[20] At least the architectural device was known to Vitruvius, and there is no reason to doubt that both the idea itself and a name for it were known to Pollux. Yet he neither lists στοὰ ἀντίσκηνος or *ἀντισκήνιον in his parts of a Greek theater nor describes such a structure in other terms. The reason is clear: The Athenian theater had no *ἀντισκήνιον, and Pollux was describing the Athenian theater, not a mere generalization.

III.

In the *Classical Weekly*, XVII (1924), 104, in a review of Professor Van Hook's *Greek Life and Thought*, Professor Crosby wrote:

> On page 178 the diameter of the orchestra of the Dionysiac theater is said to be "sixty-four feet, six inches (sixty Greek feet)." This statement does not square with any value of the Greek foot with which the reviewer is familiar. Professor Flickinger, *The Greek Theater and Its Drama* 69, has a similar entry, but gives the diameter as sixty-four feet, four inches.

[17] C. *The Greek Theater and its Drama*, 76-87, 92-101 and 116 f.

[18] Cf. *Forschungen in Ephesos* II (1912), 15 and 163 f.

[19] Cf. *Philologus* XXXV (1925), 127 f. 'Αντίσκηνος is cited in the new revision of Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (1925).

[20] Hörmann assigns it to 140-144 A.D., cf. *Jahrbuch d. deutschen arch. Instituts*, XXXVIII/XXXIX (1923-24), 281.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

My statement is, of course, based upon Dörpfeld, *Das griechische Theater*, 59:

Die Orchestra Lykurgs muss zwichen dem offenen Wassercanal gemessen werden und hat einen Duchmesser von 19.61m. Der Radius des runden Tanzplatzes misst also 9.805m. Man durfte erwarten, dass diesses Mass einem runden Betrage altgriechischer Fusse entspreche, weil der Radius der Orchestra als das Grundmass des Theaters bezeichnet werden darf und als solches von keinem andern Masse abhängig ist. In der That entspricht der Betrag von 9.805m. genau 20 Ellen oder 30 griechischen Fussen von 0.327m. (vergl. oben 8.50). Gerade das Mass von 20 Ellen oder 30 Fussen ist im Altertum ein sehr beliebtes rundes Mass gewesen . . . . Es mag bei dieser Gelegenheit erwähnt werden, dass sehr viele Abmessungen des Theaters nach demselben Fusse von 0.327 in runde Betrage ergeben, und dass mithin das Theater wahrscheinlich nach diesem äginäisch-attischen Fusse erbaut ist.

Dörpfeld's cross-reference is to the following words:

Da 0.33m. gerade die Grösse eines griechischen Fusses ist (vergl. *Athen. Mitth.* XV (1890), S. 171), ...

For several reasons, as will appear later, it seems worth while to quote part of the statement given in Webster's *New International Dictionary of the English Language* (1912) s. v. "metric": ". . . . the *meter*, which was intended to be, and is very nearly, one ten-millionth part of the distance measured on a meridian of the earth from the equator to the pole, being equal to about 39.37 inches, or 3 feet 3 3/8 inches. Speaking accurately, a meter is the distance between two lines on a certain platinum bar kept in Paris, when this bar is at 0 degrees C. or 32 degrees F. The English Board of Trade value is 39.370113 inches. In the United States the accepted value is 39.37 inches. . . . ."

The discrepancy of two inches between Professor Van Hook's figure and mine is perhaps not very important. In reply to a letter of inquiry from me he was unable to throw any light upon the subject. I used the American value of 39.37 inches, according to which a diameter of 19.61m would amount to 772.0457 inches. The English Board of Trade value would give a slightly larger result, 772.0578+ inches. The first figure exceeds 64 feet 4 inches by less than 5/100 of an inch; the second exceeds it by less than 6/100 of an inch.

Far more important is the question raised by Professor Crosby as to the exact length of a Greek foot and whether the diameter of the Lycurgus orchestra was in fact exactly (*genau*, according to Dörpfeld) sixty Aeginetan-Attic feet. This is a matter of the greater consequence for the reason that sixty feet was a frequently used measurement and Dörpfeld therefore believes the orchestra to have

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

been the starting-point in the dimensions of this structure and not to have been incidentally derived from some other part of the building. Now at the very outset we are confronted by a contradiction. On p. 59 of his book Dörpfeld speaks of the Aeginetan-Attic foot of 0.327 m, and in his cross-reference (p. 50) speaks of a Greek foot of 0.33 m. To most of us in America and the British Empire, ignorant as we are of the metric system in actual practice, such a difference seems large. In fact, it amounts to three millimeters, or (roughly) one-ninth of an inch, per foot; in a diameter of sixty feet it would introduce a variation of about half a foot. That such a looseness in the use of linear measurements actually obtained in ancient buildings is proved by Dörpfeld's second cross-reference, which is to his article in *Athenische Mittheilungen* XV (1890), 167ff. ("Das äginäisch-attische Mass-System"), especially p. 171: "Diese Biespiele, welche ich noch beliebig vermehren könnte, führen übereinstimmend auf einem Längenfuss von 0.326m. bis 0.328m. Wir lernen daraus, dass der attische Fuss etwas kleiner war als 0.33m und zwar muss der Normalbetrag zwischen den genannten Grenzen gelegen haben." Dörpfeld's figures are sufficient to show that our handbooks are too dogmatic and precise as to these matters.[21] The same result appears also in data recently published by Professor Tenney Frank with reference to the early Roman foot.[22]

If we assume that an official foot measure was available like the platinum meter in Paris or like the linear πῆχυς which was engraved upon two columns in the Roman market-place at Athens, it is yet possible to see some factors which would produce slight variations from the standard within each system. Their instruments fell far short of the precision which we are accustomed to expect and attain, and even modern scientists were unable to make the meter exactly one ten-millionth part of a meridian. On the other hand, an error of 1/9 of an inch cannot be attributed entirely to this source. Secondly, the variability in the expansion and contraction of different materials when subjected to changes in temperature introduces another element into the problem. In the case of iron and marble the coefficient of linear expansion amounts to

[21] E. g. Whibley, *A Companion to Greek Studies* (1916), §570, gives the Attic foot a value of .2957 m. and the Aeginetan foot. 333 m. It is all the worse when the values are stated precisely but inconsistently. Thus, in Harper's *Dictionary of Antiquities* the Attic foot is given a value of .2957m on p. 1032 and .296m in the table on p. 1696.

[22] Cf. *Roman Buildings of the Republic* (1924), vol. III, in Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, pp. 5-8.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

one hundred-thousandth of the whole for each centigrade degree of variation in temperature. It is evident that this factor is also too small to help us much by itself. In the third place, it is likely that the makers of measuring sticks did not always resort to the official standard but to copies which were perhaps separated by several intermediaries from the original. Every time this process was repeated, the more important would become the sources of error already mentioned. Finally and most important, we do not know what kind of a measuring stick was employed by the builders of the orchestra and of the structures which Dörpfeld discussed in *Athenische Mittheilungen*. A steel tape was, of course, out of the question. We all know how unreliable is a tape-measure made of woven material and so bound to stretch. If the measuring stick was of wood or metal, it must have been short—not over four or five feet in length, possibly only one foot. If such a unit be applied again and again in measuring off a distance of sixty feet, it is easy to see how an error of half a foot could readily occur by reason of carelessness both in advancing the measure successively from point to point and in allowing it to deviate to the right and left of the straight line to which it ought to be rigidly kept.

Whatever may be thought of these explanations, the data presented by Dörpfeld exhibit a variation which allows us to believe that the Lycurgus orchestra was at least *intended* to have a diameter of sixty feet, a round number.

IV.

It has been commonly held, I believe, that the statements of fact and the drawings in *Das griechische Theater* are unusually exact, whatever may be thought of the theories advanced by the authors.[23]

[23] Contrast, however, the opinion of Egill Rostrup, *Attic Tragedy in the Light of Theatrical History* (1923; translated by Ingeborg Andersen), p. 15: "... there exists no book on this subject that makes a less favorable impression on closer perusal. The book is to that degree a 'tract' that the authors—Reisch, however, to a much lesser degree than Dörpfeld—do not shrink from any interpretation in keeping with that to be proved. Thus Dörpfeld even takes the liberty of 'suiting' the architectonic measures and drawings which otherwise would not have proved his case. It often occurs that they absolutely do not agree with actual facts or in proportion to each other." These words are too severe, and the charges, in this form, are unwarranted. Rostrup's footnote gives a list of references to Dörpfeld's alleged offenses, but for the most part it constitutes no attack upon his *bona fides* but only upon his good judgment in interpreting the remains. Note the same distinction, which Hörmann draws with reference to the Austrian excavations at Ephesus: "So ist denn in Ephesos der seltene Fall gegeben, dass die früheren Bearbeiter das Material in wissenschaftlich einwandfreier Form aufgenommen

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Yet errors do occur. For example, the scale of measurement as given on Tafel II is incorrectly numbered to represent a length of ten meters. It ought to be twenty, and I silently corrected the error on fig. 32 of *The Greek Theater and Its Drama* (first edition, 1918).[24] A far more serious matter is the size of the Aeschylean orchestra-terrace. On pp. 26f of *Das griechische Theater* it was maintained that the position of this orchestra was determined by two fragments of wall and by a cutting in the native rock near the east *parodos* (R, Q, and V in Tafel III),[25] and it was twice stated that the diameter of the circle thus established was 24m.

Confidently accepting these statements, Professor J. T. Allen advanced the theory[26] that this old orchestra-terrace was of the same size as the great circle of the Lycurgus theater as "inscribed within the lowest tiers of seats," though the Lycurgus theater had been shifted a few yards to the north of the earlier structure, and that, if the great circle of the Lycurgus theater, with its orchestra (as determined by the inner boundary of the gutter) and its scene-building, be thought of as lifted from its place and superimposed upon the Aeschylean orchestra-terrace, then (a) the wall at the rear of the Lycurgus *parascenia* and connecting them (*i.e.* the front wall of the σκηνή) would be a tangent of the retaining wall of the orchestra-terrace at its southernmost point, (b) the inner corners of the *parascenia* would coincide exactly with the inner edge of the retaining wall, and (c) a line drawn between the *parascenia* and at the same distance back of their front as the Hellenistic *proscenium* stood back of the Hellenistic *parascenia* would be an exact chord of the outermost edge of the circular retaining wall.[27] Thus it would seem that the Lycurgus theater of the fourth century and its immediate predecessor at the close of the fifth century had closely

und publiziert, in ihren Ergänzungs-vorschlägen aber daraus noch nicht all die Schlüsse gezogen haben, die tatsächlich mit Sicherheit zu folgern sind," cf. *Jahrbuch d. deutschen arch. Instituts*, XXXVIII/XXXIX (1923-24), 277.

[24] Since then attention has been expressly called to the matter by Allen, "The Greek Theater of the Fifth Century Before Christ," *University of California Publications in Classical Philology*, VII (1919), 10, n. 14.

[25] Cf. *The Greek Theater and Its Drama* fig. 32, B, C, and A, and figs. 33 f.

[26] Cf. "The Key to the Reconstruction of the Fifty-Century Theater at Athens," *University of California Publications in Classical Philology*, V (May 18, 1918), 55-58, and "The Greek Theater of the Fifth Century Before Christ," *ibid*, VII (1919), 1-119. Allen's theory has been modified several times as a result of developments mentioned in the text but so slightly that, in general terms, the statement given above will adequately represent his posiion from the beginning until now. For his later articles, see below.

[27] See Figs. 81 f. in *The Greek Theater and Its Drama*[2] (1922).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

reproduced upon a slightly different site the fundamental lines and relationships of the structure which had been familiar to Sophocles and Euripides during the major part of their dramatic activities and probably also to Aeschylus during the closing years of his career, and in particular that the actual performance *ca.* 460 B.C. had not taken place in the whole orchestra-terrace of that period but in a smaller area corresponding to the Lycurgus orchestra in the last third of the fourth century.

Now the diagrams in *Das griechische Theater* are not drawn upon a scale large enough to serve as a basis for establishing correspondences so minute as were here proposed.[28] Accordingly, when I reviewed[29] Allen's hypothesis, I assumed that his deductions were based upon special drawings. Therefore I was surprised and disappointed when I learned from a letter dated July 31, 1922, that Professor Allen had depended entirely upon Dörpfeld's plates. This disclosure grew out of the fact that in reviewing[30] Allen Dörpfeld called attention to a discrepancy in his own book, which had not previously been observed, between the repeated statement (pp. 26 f) that the orchestra-terrace had a diameter of 24m and Tafel I, where it was actually given a diameter of 26m! He indicated further that the diameter of this circle could not be exactly determined and hinted that it might be 27m, which would approximate that of the great circle in the Lycurgus theater.

Professor Allen had done nothing worse than other writers on scenic antiquities, who had all implicitly accepted Dörpfeld's text at this point. To his theory, however, it seemed a matter of vital importance; and the only thing that saved him was the fact that he had been dealing with a circle 26m in diameter without knowing it. He was therefore enabled to revamp his theory without any essential loss. He now assumes[31] a diameter of 26.84m for the

[28] For example, the width of the retaining wall is a vital element in the relationships proposed by Professor Allen. But up to the present there is no evidence available for exactly measuring this distance—it can only be conjectured. Allen now *assumes* that the width at the surface of the soil was .4m, "approximately the same as that of the curb of the orchestra of the theater at Epidaurus;" cf. "The Orchestra-Terrace of the Aeschylean Theater," *University of California Publications in Classical Philology*, VII (1922), 126 f.

[29] Cf. *C.P.*, XVII (1922), 95 f.

[30] Cf. *Philologische Wochenschrift*, XLI (1921), 1211-16.

[31] Cf. "The Orchestra-Terrace of the Aeschylean Theater." *University of California Publications in Classical Philology*, VII (1922), 121-28, and "Problems of the Proscenium", *ibid.*, VII (1923), 197-207.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

orchestra-terrace, the same as that of the great circle of the Lycurgus theater if inscribed just inside the row of thrones.[32]

To me Allen's theory seems stronger and more attractive in its present form than as originally promulgated. But what right have we to assume that the Aeschylean orchestra-terrace was of exactly the same diameter as the fourth century great circle? The fragments of the retaining wall and the cutting in the native rock are still there. Why not use them to establish the true diameter? I was myself in Greece from September, 1923, to February, 1924, and of course studied this problem on the spot again and again. The cutting (point V in Dörpfeld's plan and A in mine) has for many years been covered over and was then inaccessible to me. Not long before, Professor Heinrich Bulle and Dr. K. Lehmann-Hartleben had sunk several fresh trial trenches and arrived at some interesting conclusions,[33] but they found nothing which bears directly upon our present problem. Accordingly, I employed Mr. DeJong, a British architect long resident in Greece, whose services have been in great demand for archaeological work of this nature, to plot the position of the two fragments of the stone retaining-wall. His plan shows that they might have belonged to a circle with a diameter of about 25.26m. I give this figure for what it may prove to be worth. I am not deceived by it or committed to it. The stone of which the two fragments were built is not exactly the same (see below), and it is possible that they were not originally intended as parts of the same circle. On the other hand, these fragments are so battered[34] that neither of them, independently of the other, can be used as an arc from which to calculate the radius. At any rate, this figure is somewhat larger than the 24m mentioned in the text of *Das griechische Theater*, though it is also somewhat smaller than the 26.84m which Professor Allen now assumes. I do not conceive that it makes much difference. As I have already stated, the plans never were large enough or detailed enough to warrant the minute correspondences which Allen sought to establish. All that really matters

[32] Cf. *Das griechische Theater*, Fig. 26.

[33] Their most important find was the discovery, in the drain which leads under the scene-buildings from the east end of the gutter, of a stone seat which was straight, not curved. The letters of a brief inscription indicate that it belonged to the close of the fifth century. Acordingly, it would seem that at that period the seating arrangements in the Athenian theater were semi-polygonal in plan, not semi-circular.

[34] Their condition may be clearly seen in *The Greek Theater and Its Drama*, figs. 33 f.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

is the possibility that the orchestra and the front portion of the scene-building (including the *parascenia*) of the Lycurgus theater more or less closely fitted the Aeschylean orchestra-terrace and therefore that the fourth century structure approximately reproduced that of about 460 B.C. in size and plan. Unless new discoveries (see below) are brought to light to prove otherwise, this result would seem to be fairly well established.

Now at first Dr. Dörpfeld welcomed Allen's theory,[35] but when reviewing it in its modified form[36] he seemed to have lost his enthusiasm. I was confirmed in this impression by my conversations with him when he was my guest at Pompeii February 20-24, 1924. It is true that already in *Das griechische Theater* (pp. 26-28) the difference in material between the two fragments of the old retaining-wall was clearly stated, the one consisting of "dem harten Kalkstein der Burg" and the other of "zwei grösseren Steinen eines sehr weichen Piräuskalkes und kleinen harten Kalksteinen"; but nevertheless Dörpfeld was then willing to waive this difference as of slight importance. Similarly, in his first review of Allen (1921), though he called attention to the discrepancy in the diameter of the orchestra-terrace, he thought so little of the difference in material as not even to mention it. By the time of the second review (1923), however, all is changed and his enthusiasm has perceptibly cooled.

He defends himself (p. 442) against the discrepancy between 24m in the text of *Das griechische Theater* and 26m in the plate by saying that the smaller figure "keineswegs als unrichtig bezeichnet werden darf; denn der Durchmesser der alten Orchestra-Terrasse kann überhaupt nicht genau gemessen werden." This is undoubtedly true, but nevertheless the text and the plate should have been in agreement or the reader should have been expressly warned to the contrary. Dörpfeld then proceeds to rehearse all that can be said against the reliability of the data by which the size of the orchestra-terrace has been computed, and continues:

Bei solcher Unsicherheit der Grundlagen muss der Durchmesser der alten Terrasse ungewiss bleiben. Er kann 27m gemessen haben, kann aber auch beträchlich kleiner gewesen sein. Auf keiner Fall darf er auf genau 26.84m angesetzt werden, wie der Verfasser, allerdings nur versuchsweise, auf S.126 tut; solche Zeichnungen werden später leicht für gesicherte Tatsachen gehalten.

Furthermore, he considers this figure (26.84m) less acceptable

[35] Cf. *Philologische Wochenschrift*, XLI (1921), 1211-16.
[36] Cf. *ibid.*, XLIII (1923), 441-43.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

for the reason that it does not represent a round number of Greek feet, and he suggests that it would be better to measure the orchestra-terrace, not from the front row of seats, but from their stone foot-rests, which, now lacking, were formerly in position. "Der grössere Kreis wurde dann einen Durchmesser von rund 80 Fussen erhalten."

Finally, Dr. Dörpfeld concludes his review as follows

An der Hauptthese von Allen über die Orchestra-Terrasse und den inneren Orchestra-Platz, der zum Tanze und zum Spiele der Schauspieler gedient hat, ändern diese Bemerkungen über die Unsicherheit des Masses des äusseren Kreises (sowohl im Theater des 5. Jahrh., als auch in dem des 4. Jahrh.) nichts Wesentliches; die These scheint mir auch jetzt noch richtig. Ob ich ihm aber auch in seiner Ansicht über die allmähliche Entwicklung der Skene und des Proskenions ganz folgen kann, vermag ich noch nicht zu sagen, weil er seine Aussicht hierüber nur angedeutet hat. Die näheren Ausführungen hat er für einen weiteren Aufsatz in Aussicht gestellt, dem ich und gewiss auch andere gerne entgegen sehen.

What has produced this change in Dr. Dörpfeld's position? At Pompeii I undertook to question him concerning this point, but without success. Nevertheless I now believe that the reason is fairly obvious. Professor Allen was good enough to furnish a plan to illustrate his revised theory for the second edition of my *Greek Theater and Its Drama* (fig. 82). Now my second edition and Allen's third paper, containing his restatement of his position, were published in the same month (November, 1922) and were both reviewed by Dörpfeld in the same volume of the *Philologische Wochenschrift* (1923, vol. XLIII) within two months of each other, Allen's in number 19 (pp. 441-43) and mine in number 28 (pp. 658-62). The point which I am trying to make clear is that both works must have been simultaneously in Dörpfeld's possession for several months and that he must have known my second edition when he wrote his review of Allen's third paper. Now what makes it important to realize this situation is the fact that to Allen's drawing for my second edition I added something which he has given in no plan in all four of his papers. I inscribed a square in his great circle and thereby showed how nearly the south side of this came to coinciding with the chord which *ex hypothesi* represented the Lycurgus proscenium!

It will at once occur to everyone familiar with the problem that Vitruvius (V, 7, 2 f) had declared that in the *theatrum Graecorum* the *frons scaenae* was determined by a tangent and the *finitio proscaenii* by the nearest side of an inscribed square, and the rest of his description is now universally interpreted as meaning that the space between these two lines was the *pulpitum quod λογεῖον appellant*, with an *altitudo non minus . . . . pedum decem, non plus duodecim*.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Everyone is agreed that the Greek theater once had such a stage, but it is unnecessary to rehearse here the innumerable shades of opinion among scholars as to when it was introduced, ranging from Dörpfeld, at the one extreme, who assigns it as an innovation of the Graeco-Roman theater of the first century B. C., to Puchstein, at the other extreme, who defended the Vitruvian formula clear back to the time of Aeschylus.

Suffice it to say that those who have been inclined to reject Dörpfeld's views have been sadly handicapped in their efforts to trace the Vitruvian theater back of the Hellenistic period by two considerations: the fact that the extant plays (fifth century) are plainly poorly adapted to, or even incapable of, presentation in such a theater, and the further fact that the structural remains for the fourth century (especially as regards the proscenium) are relatively scanty and for the fifth century are all but non-existent. At last, Allen's theory has put in their hands a means of overcoming the second difficulty. If Allen is right in his placing of the wooden proscenium in the Lycurgus theater and in his contention that this structure closely reproduced the Aeschylean theater of about 460 B. C., then Vitruvius' diagrammatic scheme for Greek theaters fits these buildings with considerable exactness, provided we assume that he defined his tangent and inscribed square in terms of an orchestra-terrace or great circle as determined by the lowest row of seats instead of in terms of the orchestra marked off by the gutter; and Vitruvius' words in his description of the *theatrum Latinum* (*orchestra inter gradus imos quam diametron habuerit*, etc.; V, 7, 9) render this assumption not at all unreasonable. The pro-stagers will, of course, not be slow to assert that, if Vitruvius' ground-plan is to be accepted for the Athenian theater in the times of Lycurgus and of Aeschylus, then his statements about the Greek stage and its elevation must also be accepted for these periods.

I am pursuaded that within five seconds after Dr. Dörpfeld's eyes rested in my book upon the square which I had inscribed in Allen's plan, these thoughts flashed through his mind and that from that hour he lost all enthusiasm for Allen's theory and for an orchestra-terrace which would at all approximate the great circle of the Lycurgus theater.[37] I do not intend these words as an attack

[37] It will be noted that Dörpfeld's present proposal to measure the orchestra-terrace from the stone foot-rests not only introduces another element of uncertainty into the problem (since they are no longer *in situ*) but also reduces the diameter of the terrace and *pari passu* the possibility of the Lycurgus theater being explained in terms of Vitruvius' diagram.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

upon the honesty of Dörpfeld's intellectual processes. Far from it. But by a natural psychological reaction the objections to considering the two groups of stone fragments as parts of the same retaining-wall and of the same circle, objections which he had been able to argue himself into pushing into the background, suddenly and automatically reasserted themselves and demanded that they should be given proper consideration.

What, then, is to be the conclusion of this matter? I am willing to follow where the truth may lead. I have myself examined the stones of the two fragments, and undoubtedly there is a considerable difference in their material. There may well be a doubt as to their belonging to the same period or the same circle. But if the cut in the native rock, which was supposed to represent another arc of this early terrace, could once again be uncovered, I should be willing to abide by the testimony that a more careful examination of it would provide. Now at Pompeii Dr. Dörpfeld confessed that he had at last been forced to relinquish all hope of ever revising *Das griechische Theater*, but he stated that he planned before long to prepare a book on the Athenian theater alone, with new plans and interpretations. I am informed that, with a view to the execution of this purpose, he has had further excavations made in the Athenian theater early in the current year (1925) with new and valuable results and that he has engaged a competent architect, Professor Orlandos, to prepare new drawings. Our doubts, therefore, are in a fair way of being considerably relieved within a short time.

For myself I am not alarmed by what the future may hold in store or by the possibility that Professor Allen's theory may be confirmed. The excavation of numerous Greek theaters in recent decades has shown conclusively that ancient theaters cannot possibly be classified under merely two general types, "Greek" and "Roman," as Vitruvius attempted to do, but rather under a much larger number of categories according to period, place, conditions of use, and the nature of the performances for which they were employed from time to time. Neither friend nor foe has yet been able to demonstrate, in such a way as to satisfy all the factors involved, just what type of theater Vitruvius was undertaking to describe. "If he was describing an old type, viz., the Hellenistic, its variations . . . . must have been too great for him to be able to find any single formula which would comprehend them all, and he had to content himself with recording a theoretical ideal. Or if he

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

was describing a contemporaneous but developing type, viz., the Graeco-Roman, we must suppose that his authority was not sufficient to secure the adoption of his rules by later architects."[38] In the meanwhile, the arguments against a high Vitruvian stage in fifth century Athens, or even in fourth century Athens,[39] are powerful and not easily to be overturned. They have not lost their validity and, I am convinced, will not lose their validity, no matter what may prove to have been the size of the Aeschylean orchestra-terrace or whatever other evidence may be produced. In particular, the extant plays simply cannot be made to fit into the Procrustean conditions which the partisans of Vitruvius would impose upon them. And as von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff declared long ago:[40] "Von dem, was in den Stücken selbst steht, lässt sich nichts abdingen."

[38] Cf. Flickinger, *The Greek Theater and Its Drama*, 85.

[39] Most of us are interested in these problems primarily on account of the extant plays and are slightly concerned as to the exact form of the Hellenistic theater except as its data may be employed as arguments with reference to the conditions of theatrical representation in the classical period.

[40] Cf. *Hermes*, XXI (1886), 603.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

AN UNPUBLISHED BALLAD BY PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY

By Walter Edwin Peck
Wesleyan University

Thirty-seven years ago, in Harvard University Library's *Bibliographical Contributions*, No. 30, entitled: *Shelley's Skylark, A Facsimile of the Original Manuscript, with a Note on Other Manuscripts of Shelley, in Harvard College Library*, it was noted that at Page 153 of Shelley's MS. Notebook in that library appeared a *Ballad* ("Young Parson Richards") *in the hand of Mrs. Shelley*, but *corrected by Shelley*. A year later Professor George Edward Woodberry, the only outstanding editor of Shelley whom America has yet produced, in No. 35 of the same series of *Bibliographical Contributions* confirmed the presence of the ballad (*in "Mrs. Shelley's hand,"* with *"corrections in Shelley's hand"*) in this notebook, and committed himself to the further judgment that the poem was "entirely valueless in itself and uninstructive with respect either to Shelley or to the growth of his poetical genius."

On this basis, we suppose, Professor Woodberry excluded the poem from his valuable Centenary Edition of Shelley's *Poetical Works* published in 1893. Succeeding editors, either with or without other information regarding the poem, have not published it; and so with the consent of Dr. William C. Lane, Harvard's librarian, it is presented in this article, we believe, for the first time.

Now with the statement, carried in both of Harvard's *Bibliographical Contributions* before cited, that the MS. of this poem is in Mrs. Shelley's hand, we are obliged to disagree. The handwriting is Shelley's throughout, and not his wife's. And the corrections (as stated) are also by him. He wrote out the ballad, and altered it, thus providing the text now given to the public.

The theme of the ballad, though perhaps too frank for the literary taste of America and England in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, is certainly not more daring than that of *Laon and Cythna* or *The Cenci*; and of Shelley's sympathy for many a Magdalen of real life in his own day we have abundant evidence from one of his contemporaries. In his *Lord Byron and Some of His Contemporaries*, Leigh Hunt tells this story:

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Shelley was present at a ball, where he was a person of some importance. Numerous village ladies were there, old and young . . . . It was expected that the young squire would take out one of these ladies to dance

but instead Shelley was seen

handing forth, with an air of consolation and tenderness, the object of all the virtuous scorn of the room!

And we are also indebted to Hunt for the narrative of Shelley's encounter with an unfortunate woman whom on a desolate winter night, he found lying on Hampstead Heath; of his appeal to some passing householder to shelter her until a physician could be called; of the householder's amazed refusal; and of Shelley's burning words in reply:

It is such men as you who madden the spirits and the patience of the poor and wretched; and if ever a convulsion comes in this country (which is very probable) recollect what I tell you;—you will have your house, that you refuse to put this miserable woman into, burnt over your head.

The thirteenth stanza contains an obvious reminiscence of Hamlet's proud speech to Laertes:

> A ministering angel shall thy sister be,
> When thou liest howling;

a speech echoed earlier, in Shelley's work, in the ninth chapter of *St. Irvyne, or the Rosicrucian,* where, addressing the hapless Eloise, who has been seduced by Nempere, Shelley says:

Ah! poor deluded Eloise . . . he may howl with the fiends of darkness, in never-ending misery, whilst thou shalt receive, at the throne of the God whom thou hast loved, the rewards of . . . unsuspecting excellence.

And the protest, in the fifteenth stanza, against the belief that a beneficent Deity could doom millions of his creatures to eternal punishment, is one frequently encountered in Shelley's works, notably in the essay *On the Devil and Devils,* and *On Christianity* (1815).

The thought of the first two lines of the twelfth stanza, that God "meant this for a world of love" recalls Shelley's statement at the end of the preface to *The Revolt of Islam* (1818): "Love is celebrated everywhere as the sole law which should govern the moral world"; and his objection, in the seventeenth stanza, that though God had intended that his creatures should increase and multiply, their earthly tyrants would doom them to death, is closely related to his protest, in the *Philosophical View of Reform* (1819-20) against the current theory of certain political economists, that the poor should cease to procreate.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

In the notebook, from which the poem is taken, we find poems of the poet known to have been done during 1819 and 1820; and perhaps this ballad was conceived at this time; but, stylistically, it seems to me that it belongs to a much earlier period. If this is the case, then the Harvard manuscript version would not be the first, but a later draft. The number of alterations in the manuscript, which is unusually small for a Shelley first draft, tallies with this theory. Everyone knows Trelawny's famous description of a Shelley first draft (Trelawny referred specifically to that of the *Lines, with a Guitar*) as more closely resembling a sketch of a duck pond, than a version of a poem.

Relying, then, wholly upon internal evidence, it would appear to me that this ballad must have been produced before 1816, about which time Shelley's manner, partly as the result of his awakened interest in the Greek and Latin classics, underwent a marked change. And I am inclined to think that if we assign it to the year 1815 we shall not be wide of the mark.

A BALLAD

Young Parson Richards stood at his gate
Feeding his hound with bread;
Hunch after hunch, the mere beast ate
Moving his tail & his head.

A woman came up with a babe at her breast
Which was flaccid with toil & hunger –
She cried—"Give me food or give me rest
We die if I wait much longer. ——

"The poor thing sucks & no milk will come
He would cry, but his strength is gone,
This wasting weakness has left him dumb –
Ye can hardly hear him moan

"The skin round his eyes is pale & blue —
His eyes are glazed — not with tears ——
I wish for a little moment that you
Could know what a mother fears.

"Give me a piece of that fine white bread
I would give you some blood for it ——
Before I faint & my infant is dead –
O give me a little bit

"Alas it was sold, that trinket of gold
Which my ruiner gave to me ——
All the winter nights on my bosom, as cold
It lay, as his heart might be,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

And the single blanket of threadbare woof
Under which we both cried to sleep
Is gone — the rain drenches us through the roof
And I moan, but no longer weep

"What would it avail me to prostitute
This lean body squalid & wild ? ——
And yet by the God, who made me I'd do't
If I could but save my child

"Perhaps you would like — but alas you are
A staid & a holy man, —
But if you were not — would any one care
For these limbs so meagre & wan —

"Aye, aye, — one as rich & as grave as you
Once found them a dear delight, ——
I scarce think he would be as cruel now
If he saw them in this sad plight

"Give me bread—my hot bowels gnaw ——
I'll tear down the garden gate
I'll fight with the dog, — I'll tear from his maw
The crust which he just has ate —

"Priest, consider that God who created us
Meant this for a world of love —
Remember the story of Lazarus,
You preach to the people of —

And upon my soul I begin to think
'Twere a joy beyond all pleasure
To sit up in Heaven, & see you drink
In Hell, of your own bad measure —

Will you say God said this to frighten the rich
He will only damn the poor :
That the deadly sins are alone those which
There are many temptations for. ——

Nor doubt, the great Power has made us each
Such as we were to be ——
And then to damn us; — the thing w[oul]d impeach
His justice & charity

"And yet I cannot imagine how we
Can call *him* just & good;
When he sends a wretched woman like me
To a man, like you, for food.

"O God ! this poor dear child did I
At thy command bear & cherish ——
Thou bad'st us increase & multiply ——
And our tyrants bid us perish, ——

"Water ! water ! & bread & beer !
A little morsel of bread ! —
My own dear baby is dying I fear ! —
And I — I hope — am dead."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The man of God with a surly frown
To the garden wicket paced
And he saw the woman had fallen down
With her face below her waist.

The child lay stiff as a frozen straw
In the woman's white cold breast ——
And the parson in its dead features saw
His own to the truth expressed

He turned from the bosom whose heart was broke
Once it pillowed him as he slept. ——
He turned from the lips that no longer spoke
From the eyes that no longer wept. ——

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

SCENES OF DISCOVERY IN *OTHELLO*

By Allan H. Gilbert
Duke University

The observations of Aristotle on the structure of the drama are still of value; indeed some of them seem hardly to have been assimilated by the critics who follow in his footsteps. In particular his remarks on *anagnorisis*, that is, recognition or discovery, have been little heeded, though scenes of discovery have been generally used by dramatists and story writers throughout the ages and are frequently employed in our contemporary fiction and drama. The disclosure made in such a scene may be important in a play, for it may cause a striking change in the mental or physical condition of the persons involved. The effective use of these discoveries and reversals demands from the playwright great skill in the handling of incidents.

In *Othello* the discovery is used on a grand scale. First is the hero's mistaken discovery that Desdemona is unfaithful to him. This is succeeded by his counter discovery that he has been deceived and that his wife is innocent. The first causes the murder of Desdemona, the second the suicide of Othello. Without the discoveries the play could not exist.

At the beginning Iago arouses Othello's suspicions by pouring pestilence into his ear. He calls attention to Cassio's hasty departure from Desdemona on the approach of her husband, asks about Cassio's previous acquaintance with her, remarks on the disparity between the Moor and his wife, suggests that since Desdemona has deceived her father she may deceive her husband, and refers to the evil reputation of Venetian women. This array, together with Iago's peculiar manner and Othello's complete trust in his character and devotion, leads the Moor to the thought:

> This honest creature, doubtless,
> Sees and knows more, much more, than he unfolds. (III, iii, 242-3)

This mistaken inference represents one of the standard forms of discovery as presented by Aristotle. By putting together a number of items Othello reasons out his conclusions.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

On Iago's departure, Othello considers further the matters suggested by his ancient, laying emphasis on his wisdom and experience in the world:

> This fellow's of exceeding honesty,
> And knows all qualities, with a learned spirit
> Of human dealings. (III, iii, 258-60)

This confidence is the result of the long association of the two men, and gives weight and probability to Othello's inference. Yet having a few minutes to consider the matter, the Moor realizes that he is proceeding on inference alone, and begins to doubt the honest and trustworthy Iago. Seizing him by the throat, he exclaims:

> Villain, be sure thou prove my love a whore,
> Be sure of it; give me the ocular proof. (III, iii, 360-1)

And again he declares: "I'll have some proof." Iago inquires if Othello wishes to see Cassio and Desdemona in the very act of adultery. Apparently relying on the horror with which Othello thinks of such a sight, he explains the "tedious difficulty" of such proof and then declares it impossible, concluding:

> But yet, I say,
> If imputation, and strong circumstances,
> Which lead directly to the door of truth,
> Will give you satisfaction, you may have it. (III, iii, 406-9)

It is evidently necessary for Iago to induce his general to use inference or some other method that can be manipulated to give a false conclusion. Under the influence of disgust at the thought of actually beholding the disloyalty of Desdemona, Othello softens his demand to

> Give me a living reason she's disloyal. (III, iii, 410)

Iago now tells the lying tale of Cassio's dream, in which he is reported to have said:

> Sweet Desdemona,
> Let us be wary, let us hide our loves,

and in his sleep to have acted out a love scene. On this the Moor remarks:

> 'Tis a shrewd doubt, though it be but a dream.

Iago, aware of the inadequate nature of the basis of Othello's inference, responds:

> And this may help to thicken other proofs
> That do demonstrate thinly.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

He now proceeds to employ another form of supposed proof, which makes a powerful impression on Othello. He asks:

> Have you not sometimes seen a handkerchief
> Spotted with strawberries in your wife's hand?

On Othello's reply that it was his first gift to her, the ancient continues:

> Such a handkerchief —
> I'm sure it was your wife's—did I to-day
> See Cassio wipe his beard with. . . .
> If it be that, or any that was hers,
> It speaks against her with the other proofs.

In reality Iago himself has the handkerchief, which his wife Emilia took up when Desdemona dropped it, but Othello accepts the story as a proof.

The use of the handkerchief exemplifies another of the forms of discovery which Aristotle observed in the Greek drama and epic, that of the sign or token as evidence. It frequently appears in a crude form, as when the son of Cymbeline is recognized by a "mole, a sanguine star" that had been observed many years before in his babyhood. Othello does not observe the distance intervening between the handkerchief and the fact it is supposed to establish, but conducts himself as though he had the "ocular proof" he has demanded, when as a matter of fact he has not seen the handkerchief. Having been told that Cassio has the handkerchief, he does not consider that it may not have been a gift from Desdemona, but rests on the brute fact, as he believes, of the object, as did Posthumus on the fact of Imogen's bracelet in the hands of the villain Iachimo. A discovery by means of a trinket, as distinguished from one by means of a bodily mark, is certain in proportion to the likelihood that the history of the trinket is established. In the case of Perdita, in *The Winter's Tale*, there is no room for doubt, but Posthumus too easily believes the evidence of the bracelet, even though a bystander suggests that it may have been stolen. Othello does not consider the possibility of breaks in the history of the token.

In a subsequent scene Othello asks Desdemona for the handkerchief, almost as though to announce that he knows what has become of it. Astonished at the manner of her husband and terrified at the importance he attributes to the article, she is afraid to own its loss, becomes confused, and lies lamely about it. This to the sus-

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

picious Moor is as good as an announcement that she has given the handkerchief to Cassio.

This scene exemplifies another of the perennial methods of revelation observed by Aristotle, that in which a character announces something by display of feeling. Another example is the conduct of King Claudius in *Hamlet* when he sees the Mouse Trap enacted. This instance in *Othello* is especially excellent, because almost alone among the supposed discoveries by the Moor it is not part of the plan of Iago. In this scene, too, Desdemona's display of feeling is complicated by her lie, which gives Othello further reason to conclude that she is generally false.

As though this were not enough Desdemona tries to turn her husband aside from his questions about the handkerchief by interceding for Cassio. This maddens Othello, for Iago has prepared him to see something alarming in this innocent action by saying:

> Note if your lady strain his entertainment
> With any strong or vehement importunity;
> Much may be seen in that. (III, iii, 250-2)

In his madness Othello exclaims repeatedly: "The handkerchief!" as though he would say: "Do you intercede for the lover to whom you have presented my first gift to you?"

This intercession for Cassio is one of the most skilfully designed of the means Shakespeare employs for conveying to Othello false information about his wife. It closely approaches the method of revelation that Aristotle considers most artistic, namely that which comes naturally in the course of the plot, without the use of some means designed solely for giving the information. It may be called the incidental revelation, since it comes about through some other necessary action of the plot, which would have occurred even if no revelation had been possible. In this instance Desdemona acts as she would have done in the natural course of events, had there been no mystery. In fact, before Iago had poisoned Othello's mind Desdemona did once intercede for Cassio without making her husband suspicious. The situation is the more artistic because Desdemona on her part is ignorant that she is, as her husband believes, proclaiming her infidelity. On Othello's side the revelation is less excellent, because he is prepared for it. And even Desdemona is not a free agent, because her words are inspired by Iago.

The next step in bringing Desdemona's supposed adultery home to Othello is the most arbitrary of all, being a plain announcement

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

by Iago that Cassio has boasted of her favors. Such direct announcements are obviously among the least artistic means of revelation, since they do not as do other types grow out of the action of the play, but come at the convenience of the author, with little structural necessity. The excuse for this one is that Iago sees Othello wavering, and needs to strike a heavy and immediate blow, lest his plot fail. He is not, as in his lie about Cassio's dream, driven to it by demands from his general.

Iago's next scheme for hammering into Othello's brain the falsity of Desdomona is equally arbitrary; he places Othello where the Moor partly overhears a conversation between Iago and Cassio about Bianca. This makes a somewhat unnatural scene on the stage, with Othello in hiding and speaking aside, though perhaps it can be conceded to the necessity of stagecraft. It is, however, improbable that Othello would conveniently overhear only what Iago wished he should, and be unable to catch the rest, so that he would suppose that Cassio is speaking of Desdemona. Yet the fact that the scene is planned by Iago, as a detective might plan to catch a criminal, partly redeems it. It is better than the accidental overhearings, as in *The Supposes,* used by dramatists unable in any more natural way to bring information to light. Iago did not, however, plan one part of the scene, the conversation of Bianca and Cassio. Yet Bianca's part is for Othello the most convincing of all because she brings the fatal handkerchief. Her appearance is exactly timed, and she remains long enough for but two speeches, both rather too independent for her character. Altogether, and in spite of excuses, such as her haunting of Cassio, it is difficult to feel that Bianca comes for any other purpose than that Othello may overhear her, and see her return the handkerchief. Her part is convenient for Shakespeare, rather than demanded by the plot; hence of the sort Aristotle would condemn as an arbitrary revelation.

The appearance of the handkerchief clinches the suspicions of Othello, though he seems to be too far distant to see it distinctly, asking Iago: "Was that mine?" (IV, i, 177). This time the ancient can use the truth to his purpose.

After this scene Othello is again infuriated by further intercession for Cassio by Desdemona, but no further means of keeping her supposed falsity in his view are used. The murder of Des-

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

demona follows. In his direct accusation of her Othello uses the handkerchief as proof.

It is evident that the nature of the discoveries will influence considerably our idea of the character of Othello. If those on which he bases his action are crude, we feel that he is in some way stupid either in general, or because he is especially prone to jealousy, or because he has little confidence in Desdemona. If the play, or at least its hero, is to be rated at the highest, the discoveries ought to be such as to satisfy a man of more than usually high character and intellect. This is especially true because of their falsity. Mr. A. C. Bradley feels that the material suggested by Iago for the early inferences of Othello, such as Desdemona's deception of her father and the disparity between Othello and his wife, are properly disquieting. Yet the Moor has refused

> to turn the business of [his] soul
> To such exsufflicate and blown surmises. (III, iii, 181-2)

His faith is strong enough to conquer inference. His intelligence, trained by years of military command, demands "ocular proof." By playing on the Moor's delicacy, Iago reduces this to "a living reason." As such he brings forward two lies, one the tale of Cassio's dream, the other that of the handkerchief. These are told partly in self-defence, for Othello has threatened him. It would seem that Othello might have detected something wrong in these mere arbitrary announcements, after Iago has excused himself from the responsibility of furnishing direct proof. It is hard to believe such proof impossible, as Iago tries to make it; as governor of the island, Othello could have set spies at work. The unwillingness of Iago joined with the feebleness of what he calls "strong circumstances" ought to have led the Moor to doubt one whom he has just called villain and suspected of slander. But Othello is so far from guessing anything that he decides to prepare "some swift means of death for the fair devil," his wife. The poor quality of his means of discovering Desdemona's guilt reduces our respect for the mind of Othello. On the other hand, Desdemona's confusion about the handkerchief joined with her intercession for Cassio offer some genuine basis for suspicion. The discoveries connected with them are complex and natural. But the scene in which Othello overhears Cassio is an arbitrary and unnatural discovery. It lowers our opinion of Othello that he can be easily deceived

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

into thinking that his trusted Cassio is so vile as to boast about the favors of women, or so foolish as to talk freely about the wife of so brave and powerful a man as his commander. Mr. Bradley is perhaps inclined to demand too much sophistication of the Elizabethan stage, yet it is difficult not to agree with his opinion that "it is an imposition so gross, and should have been one so perilous, that Iago would never have ventured on it before." He explains it by saying that by his sufferings Othello's mind is dazed and his intellect confused. Yet this is the scene that thoroughly determines Othello to murder his wife.

It seems, then, that some of the dissatisfaction with Othello as too soon jealous, too little inclined to trust his wife, and hurried on too rapidly by Iago is well founded because Shakespeare has not handled some of the discoveries quite so skilfully as the situation and characters require. In this the dramatist was fettered by his age, for the Elizabethans were not especially skilful in this part of craftsmanship. Shakespeare, however, is more skilful than any of his contemporaries and in the art of its discoveries *Othello* is superior to most of Shakespeare's other work.

The counter discovery follows the murder of Desdemona. The problem is here somewhat less difficult than before, for the revelations are now of the truth, and since the dramatist is not bound to carry out the plot of Iago, even by arbitrary means, his skill is not fettered.

Immediately on leaving the chamber of the murdered Desdemona, Othello encounters Emilia. As they speak, Desdemona calls out: "O! falsely, falsely murder'd," and again: "A guiltless death I die" (V, ii, 180). Emilia cries: "O! who hath done this deed?" Desdemona, to protect her husband even now, replies:

> Nobody; I myself; farewell!
> Commend me to my kind lord.

It is natural for a reader to feel that this should bring the truth to Othello. Mr. Bradley comments:

> This is a strange passage. What did Shakespeare mean us to feel? One is astonished that Othello should not be startled, nay thunder-struck, when he hears such dying words coming from the lips of an obdurate adulteress. One is shocked by the moral blindness or obliquity which takes them only as a further sign of her worthlessness.[1]

[1] *Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 438. It is true that Mr. Bradley wishes to withdraw the note in which the words occur, but apparently without wholly retracting his opinion.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

I believe that a dramatist in the present day would have brought about here Othello's discovery of the truth and virtually have ended the play. Shakespeare, however, was not capable of dropping his minor characters so cavalierly, but must go on to tell the fates of Iago and Cassio. And if the minor characters are to be effectively brought in, Othello cannot be removed from the stage. Hence this opportunity for the discovery is passed over, with the effect that Mr. Bradley describes. Yet Shakespeare seems to have been at some pains to produce this passage. At least he violates probability. Such a violation is not a thing to terrify an Elizabethan dramatist in the representation of death at the end of his play; still that a person who has been smothered to death should revive and speak seems to strain even Elizabethan license. Had Desdemona been stabbed, it would have seemed less unlikely.

A few years after *Othello* another play presented a scene comparable with this. In *Philaster* the hero is falsely led to suppose that his mistress Arethusa is unfaithful and carrying on an intrigue with a page named Bellario, whom Philaster had supposed devoted to himself. Meeting Arethusa in the forest, Philaster is about to slay her, but after inflicting a wound is interrupted by a peasant. During the combat that ensues, Arethusa cries out: "Heavens guard my lord!" Others approach, and Philaster flees. When next we seen him he indicates that he has partly heard the prayer of Arethusa, and is wondering if she has been abused and he is himself a "loathed villain." Yet chancing on Bellario, Philaster wounds him also, with the notion of punishing him for the intrigue. Bellario not only feels no ill will because of his own injuries, but when Philaster is charged with the attack on Arethusa, attempts to shield him by declaring himself the guilty one. This generous conduct at once breaks down the suspicions of Philaster, and he acknowledges the truth of Bellario. Apparently this also confirmed his doubtful discovery through the partly heard prayer of Arethusa, for he next appears in full reconciliation with both. This discovery comes in the fourth act; in the fifth the other characters also discover the truth of the wrongfully accused Arethusa.

But what seemed natural to Beaumont and Fletcher did not appear so to Shakespeare, and the Moor continues to accuse Desdemona to Emilia. She defends her mistress' reputation against

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Othello and against Iago who, with others, enters. By her earnestness she apparently makes some impression on Othello, who cries out: "O! O! O!" (V, ii, 196). The reader naturally supposes that the truth has dawned on the Moor, but he continues his accusations. Only when Emilia tells the story of the handkerchief is he convinced of his wife's innocence. With a shout of "Precious villain!" he rushes on Iago. He fails in his revenge, and his sword is taken away by Montano. Obtaining another weapon, Othello resolves on suicide. The play now seems to be over: at last the hero knows the truth. The slow progress of the discovery and the improbability of Desdemona's last words may be explained by the dramatist's desire to indicate the difficulty with which the truth enters the blinded mind of Othello.

But the play is not over. At the end of an agonized speech which the reader supposes will be the prelude to Othello's suicide, Cassio and Iago are brought in. The plot against Cassio's life, already partly confessed by Iago, is confirmed by Othello. Then letters from the pocket of the murdered Roderigo are read to explain his part, and as though that were not enough, Roderigo, after long seeming dead, is said to have revived and accused Iago. All this is sufficiently unimpressive, but there is still a further descent. Othello, though convinced in the main matter, is curious to know how Cassio obtained the handkerchief. Only when this is explained can the Moor make his speech of farewell and strike home.

Among the discoveries of this conclusion one of the best type is passed over in order to settle the matter by one of a less admirable sort. Had Othello gained the truth from Desdemona's last words, his discovery would have come incidentally in the natural course of the plot, in what Aristotle thought the most artistic manner. In attempting merely to shield her lord, Desdemona proclaims her complete affection for him and thus, without any thought of the charge against herself, clears herself from it. Othello was expecting no such vindication: hence it might have come to him with great force. The opportunity is passed by, and mere narratives, of an arbitrary sort, bring about the discovery. The letters and dying words of Roderigo are especially arbitrary and inartistic.

Shakespeare may have wished to indicate that the truth could not be immediately realized by Othello. On the other hand, Othello wished to believe in the purity of Desdemona and might be supposed

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

to catch at anything that could reestablish it. The scene as it stands, with Othello's failure to get the truth by any but the most violent means, lends plausibility to the opinion either that he is an obtuse person or that his sufferings have broken down his powers of perception. As a third possibility, an iconoclast may say that Shakespeare could conceive an intelligent and noble character and yet fail to employ all the technical skill necessary for its adequate presentation.

In the technique of the Elizabethan stage is to be found another reason for Shakespeare's employment of a discovery so protracted, for his neglect of an opportunity to use one full of dramatic possibility, and for his final use of a commonplace and arbitrary one. In fact at the ends of three other plays, *As You Like It, Twelfth Night,* and *King Lear,* opportunities for artistic use of recognition are similarly passed over and arbitrary discoveries finally used. The practice of the theatre made necessary that at the conclusion of the play all the important characters should crowd on the stage or in some way be represented. The father of Desdemona cannot come, but the Venetian officer can at least give thanks that he is dead and hence unable to know the fate of Desdemona. Roderigo can be represented by his letters and his reported death-bed speech. All the other important actors are there, Cassio and Iago on the outer stage, and the bodies of Desdemona, Othello, and Emilia on the inner stage. Lodovico, the officer from Venice, acts as a sort of master of ceremonies in closing the drama in accord with Elizabethan practice. To Iago he says:

> Look on the tragic loading of this bed;
> This is thy work. (V, ii, 362-3)

Then he turns to the attendants with the words:

> The object poisons sight;
> Let it be hid.

At this signal they draw the curtains of the inner stage, concealing the bodies of the slain. After a few words of other direction, he says that he must carry tidings to Venice, and leaves the stage accompanied by all the other actors.

On a stage that had no front curtain to be dropped at the end of the performance some such scheme to draw the inner curtain and bring the other actors from the curtainless outer stage with dignity and probability had to be devised by Shakespeare. To this

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

end he had to employ a number of characters. Once before the audience they had to do something; the most probable thing is that they will concern themselves with the murder and the facts relating to it, and thus bring to light various truths. Perhaps in this instance their speeches might have been shorter. It is difficult to think that probability would have suffered if the confession of Roderigo and Othello's question about the handkerchief had been omitted. But at the same time the Elizabethan dramatist undoubtedly gained something by the dignified procession from the stage. On the other hand, the spectacular end of a recent play, with one or two characters striking an effective position as the curtain falls, is perhaps open to objection. Yet this would have been an almost necessary conclusion if Othello had discovered the truth from Desdemona's final attempt to shield him. The Shakespearean method of concluding a play is less abrupt and melodramatic, and perhaps retains some of the dignity and finality of the conclusion of a Greek tragedy.

Another reason for the unshrinking exhaustiveness of the revelations at the end of *Othello* is perhaps to be found in the demands of the audience. They already had all the information that comes out in the last scene, but apparently could not endure that a shred of the truth should be kept from Othello. Lodovico says to him:

> **Sir, you shall understand what hath befall'n,**
> **Which, as I think, you know not. (V, ii, 306-7)**

Only when the audience is satisfied that everyone understands everything and that all the characters are provided for can the play be considered as properly at an end. Hence a striking discovery that would dispose of the great matters of the play but leave some minor and immaterial uncertainties is not found in Elizabethan technique.

Such a discovery is essentially a dramatic device. But though Shakespeare and his contemporaries had an extraordinary sense of the requirements of the theatre, the Elizabethan drama is built up as an acted story rather than with an eye to the properly dramatic plot. With how little change Shakespeare could put on the stage a story from Holinshed or Plutarch or some Italian! There is inevitable compression, development toward the truly dramatic, with unity better defined than in the novel. But even in Shakespeare's hands the drama still retains much of its form of a novel made vivid by acting, or a series of illustrated historical scenes. In

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

the lesser dramatists this character of variety show or mixed pageant is still plainer. Perhaps this quality is apparent in Shakespeare nowhere more than in his endings; they are much concerned with the settling of the lesser affairs of the story, and the chief characters wait while the servants are properly married off.

The Elizabethan habit of transferring stories directly to the stage did not tend to produce protracted closing scenes alone, but affected the whole play. The sources did not abound in skilfully handled discoveries. Consequently the Elizabethan dramatist does not employ them in the natural course of adaptation, and his recasting is not sufficiently thorough to drive him to their use. Further, in so far as a play consists of loosely strung scenes, with little sequence of probability or necessity, the action cannot be directed toward a striking discovery of some fact that can change the whole course of events. On the other hand, a discovery cannot be effective unless in its causes and results it influences a considerable part of the piece. If it is to do so, the play must be written with the discovery in mind, and the scenes cannot be independent. Hence Elizabethan dramatists did not develop a keen sense of the value of the discovery to total effect; in this respect their study of Seneca had little influence.

As a child of his age, Shakespeare did not perfect himself in the use of this device; hence some of the discoveries in *Othello* do not display the highest art. But in spite of any objections, *Othello* is not typically Elizabethan in structure. It is concerned with one subject, and its sequence is highly developed. Unlike other Shakespearean tragedies, it is not made up largely of spectacular historical actions, but presents a story of modern private life, which can more easily include elaborate intrigue and unexpected turns of fortune than can an action that concerns affairs of state. Consequently there is opportunity for the employment of an elaborate discovery, an opportunity that Shakespeare has seized with a genius that conquers defects and raises *Othello* to a high place among the dramas that depend on this device of plot. It is partly because Shakespeare secured a firm grip on the discovery as a unifying agent that in structure *Othello* is the most admirable of his tragedies.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

L'AMERICAINE AU THEATRE

Par Maurice Baudin
Miami University

Les femmes sont sur la terre
Pour tout idéaliser . . .
Hugo, *les Contemplations.*
Sous les yeux limpides de l'Américaine
l'âme d'un négociant est en embuscade.
Sardou, *l'Oncle Sam.*

Alors que la loi de l'homme tenait la Française sous une tutelle étroite, rien, paraît-il, ne gênait l'Américaine dans le développement de son individualité. Celle-là a dû longuement lutter pour obtenir quelques privilèges, celle-ci a eu d'emblée tous les droits. Mais l'Américaine n'a pas su profiter de son aubaine. Libre autant que l'homme le plus libre au monde, elle s'est mise à rivaliser avec lui d'audace et de vigueur, c'est-à-dire, en somme, à lui ressembler.

Comme lui elle acquiert de bonne heure une connaissance pratique de la vie. Avec son petit butin d'idées nettes et applicables, elle ignore le recueillement et le doute. Elle pense beaucoup, mais elle ne réfléchit pas. Jouisseuse sans idéal, elle est en proie à l'ennui du bien-être; fantasque, brouillonne, cassante, elle ne peut s'harmoniser nulle part. C'est une touriste effrénée qui rapporte de ses voyages . . . des fiches. Une fois l'excursion terminée, elle ferme le livre dans lequel elle n'a rien lu.

Le fonds de cette comédie n'est pas neuf. C'est l'épopée ordinaire des gens de la finance. Les personnages appartiennent à la file des parvenus recrutée jadis par Picard, Le Sage, Molière, qui a passé et repassé devant les auditoires de Dumas, d'Augier, de Becque, à l'enseigne de "la Question d'argent." Mais, possédant plus de verve que de science, les dramatistes ont surtout cherché ici à divertir leur public.[1]

[1] Les explorateurs contemporains sont de précieux auxiliaires. Un Paul Bourget ne peut manquer de faire d'intéressantes découvertes en n'importe quel pays (*Outre-Mer*, 1905). Un journal donne ce renseignement: "Dans la gare new-yorkaise du Grand-Central, on vient d'inaugurer une salle pour les accolades. Il a été jugé inconvenant que des personnes de sexes différents — fussent-elles maris et femmes — s'embrassassent publiquement sur les quais." (B. Van Vorst, *la Poursuite du bonheur aux Etats-Unis*, 1918).

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Assurée que chacun de ses propos, le moindre geste, va étonner le spectateur, lui *en boucher un coin,* comme le dit la marquise d'Évreux, née Smithson, l'Américaine exécute des tours de force, et parvient très souvent à donner une grotesque parodie de la nature humaine. A de très rares exceptions, elle est sans nuances, sans ombres; comme il convient quand on est le représentant de toute une race. Dans des études faites pour offrir

Un repos naïf des pièces amères,

elle tient son emploi selon les exigences d'une légende qui a fait ses preuves.

I

Les premières pièces se sont occupées surtout de l'homme des Amériques, comme on disait jadis, qui fut, comme j'ai tenté ailleurs de l'indiquer,[2] l'un des héros tutélaires des sans-culottes. L'Américaine n'est alors que la compagne vaillante du sublime colon.[3] Plus tard le vaudeville la montre d'une façon indirecte, par ricochet, pour ainsi dire.[4] Il exhibe sous l'étiquette "Américain" des sortes de fous toujours bondissant et dépensant; libre à nous d'imaginer quelles femmes vivent aux côtés de ces hommes et s'en accommodent.

Enfin Sardou vint qui recueillit les idées courantes et les traits du gros répertoire des comédies, opérettes, pantomimes anglaises,[5]

[2] "L'Américain dans le théâtre français", *Philological Quarterly,* IV (1925), 75-90.

[3] *Washington, ou la Liberté du Nouveau-Monde,* de Sauvigny (1791), *Washington, ou l'Orpheline de la Pennsylvanie,* d'Aubigny (1815). La femme américaine est alors, comme le dira plus tard Villiers de l'Isle-Adam (*Le Nouveau-Monde,* Avis au lecteur) "la personnification de la terre américaine; terre toujours à moitié divorcée de l'Angleterre, toujours à moitié libre, libre enfin. Le personnage est atteint de la sensibilité courante, *Bella ou la Femme aux deux maris,* de Duval (1795). Néanmoins on a parfois des esquisses qui ne manquent pas d'originalité, *les Torts apparents, ou la Famille américaine,* de Gorgy,)1787).

[4] *La Lettre chargée, Deux merles blancs, Les Trente millions de Gladiator,* de Labiche, dont on trouve encore des imitations, *le Mariage à l'américaine,* de MM. G. Sévrette et H.-B. Farnte (1920). Parmi les comédies, *les Pirates de la Savane,* de Dugué et Bourgeois (1859).

[5] *Le Quaker et la danseuse,* de Scribe et Duport (1881), *Elle est folle,* de Mélesville (1835). De 1847 à 1851 le Théâtre Historique à lui seul ne donna pas moins de sept pièces avec portraits d'Anglaises, parmi lesquelles *l'Argent,* de Guerville (L.-H. Lecomte, *Histoire des Théâtres de Paris*).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

en fit la personnalité de l'Américaine et marqua les situations les plus propres à la faire valoir. Il s'y prit à trois fois. C'est dans les trois comédies de Sardou que nous verrons naître et se fixer la tradition de l'Américaine du théâtre contemporain.

• • •

Les Femmes fortes, 1860. Claire est une jeune fille française. Elle a reçu une excellente éducation; elle chante, dessine, joue du piano, et sait tenir une maison. Elle est travailleuse et modeste, fine, prudente. Elle sert de mère aux filles de M. Quentin; la tâche est lourde et ingrate, mais Claire est vaillante et douce.

M. Quentin est de retour d'Amérique. Durant le court séjour qu'il a fait à New-York il a été émerveillé de la virilité des Américaines, il est tout à fait convaincu qu'il n'y a pas deux façons d'élever les jeunes filles. Claire est une excellente femme d'intérieur, certes; mais elle est la routine française, la réaction; elle ne se rend pas compte que les jeunes filles ne sont pas faites pour rester jeunes filles, et que si on ne les a pas traitées comme des femmes quand elles étaient jeunes filles, elles seront de mauvaises femmes. Claire ne voit pas que la femme est en tout l'égale de l'homme. Elle ne permet pas à ses pupilles de recevoir un jeune homme ni de sortir seules. Savez-vous bien qu'en Amérique les jeunes filles font toutes seules des voyages de six mois, reçoivent qui elles veulent, quand elles veulent, et si l'omnibus est complet, elles vont s'asseoir avec une parfaite candeur (c'est M. Quentin qui parle) sur les genoux des voyageurs!

M. Quentin a engagé une éducatrice américaine. Miss Deborah, connue par son roman historique de *Cleopatra*, destiné à l'instruction des jeunes personnes, est le guide qui convient à des jeunes filles. C'est un penseur, un écrivain, un médecin, Miss Deborah; c'est un leader, un orateur, un journaliste, un . . . une femme enfin, une femme forte. Elle vous donne tout de suite sa mesure: "Combien valez-vous demande-t-elle aux gens qu'on lui présente." Elle enseignera aux demoiselles Quentin les devoirs de la femme, les vertus de la femme, ses droits: des devoirs dont vous ne vous doutez pas, Claire, des droits que vous ne soupçonnez pas, des vertus qu'en

Sardou fera peu de distinction entre l'Américaine et l'Anglaise, *les Femmes Fortes*, I, ix; II, xii; *Daniel Rochat*, I, vii, xii.

Les romans contemporains, les *Scènes de la vie des États-Unis* d'Assolant, par exemple, ont aussi leur influence.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

France, Ô préjugés du Moyen-Âge! on ne demande pas à une femme.

N'allez pas vous imaginer cependant que les Américaines sont dépourvues de grâce, voire de faiblesse. Miss Deborah s'évanouit en apprenant que M. Quentin est ruiné. Il semble que certaines pudeurs ont profité de la place laissée par les autres: au seul mot de chemise, le docteur Deborah se pâme. Non, les mâles vertus n'ont pas chassé les coquetteries féminines. Ainsi, par exemple, Miss Deborah n'avoue pas son âge. Loin de repousser les attentions des messieurs, elle les recherche; "Nous voulons, dit-elle, que les hommes étaient à nos genoux."[6]

Il ne faut pas non plus crier à l'hypocrisie. L'Américaine—et c'est là son moindre défaut—n'a pas le sens de la mesure. Elle va jusqu'au bout des vertus, quitte à se rattraper par ailleurs. Mais elle ne se cache pas. Elle montre ses défauts comme ses qualités, franchement, ingénument, crument. Il est vrai qu'elle ne saurait peut-être pas choisir. Miss Deborah, membre d'une société de tempérance, boit de l'eau à ses repas. Par contre, entre ses repas, elle prendra volontiers toute autre chose. Mais c'est devant tout le monde, sans la moindre hésitation, qu'elle boit deux verres de vin.[7]

Les enseignements du docteur Deborah portent bientôt leurs fruits, car le champ est fertile, et que l'éducation américaine ne perd rien à être transplantée. Dès les premiers élans d'une liberté sans limites les demoiselles Quentin ont tout appris. On se croirait en plein New-York. Elles s'habillent en homme, font de l'escrime, fument des cigarettes. La pièce ne dit pas si elles boivent du rhum; mais il est peu probable qu'elles se refusent à suivre sur ce point l'exemple de leur maîtresse.[8] Elles vont à la chasse. Elles flirtent avec des gens qu'elles ne connaissent pas; sans aucune idée de mariage, car Miss Deborah a écrit sur le mariage un livre qui donne fort à réfléchir.[9] Elles appellent leur père Monsieur, et n'ont pour

[6] Quand Claire et M. Lachapelle offrent chacun d'accompagner miss Deborah au jardin, "J'aimais mieux le gaaçone", dit l'Américaine. I, viii; II, xiii; I, viii; II, xii.

[7] I, vii.

[8] II, xii.

Notons que l'Américaine du théâtre qui suit ne boit guère de liqueurs fortes; il y a bien miss Kate de *l'Argent d'autrui* (L. Henrique, 1893); mais le cas est rare.

[9] III, i. Sur le mariage en Amérique, bien entendu, puisque miss Deborah ne fait que d'arriver en France. Apparemment, les Américaines ne tirent pas grand profit de leur éducation.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

lui aucun respect. Elles ne sont jamais à la maison, et ne disent pas où elles vont. Quand M. Quentin proteste enfin, parle d'obéïssance, l'institutrice répond: "Je enseignai pas le servitioude."

• • •

La pièce pourrait s'appeler "les Femmes savantes du Nouveau-Monde"; à part quelques variations faciles, elle suit fidèlement son modèle. C'est un trait de la comédie américaine. Les données sont simples et sans prétention à l'originalité. L'intérêt est dans le spectacle des eccentricités des Yankees. L'auteur sacrifie l'unité de la pièce au portrait des personnages. Dans les *Femmes fortes* il y a deux Américains, et il y a deux pièces; si nous avons pu laisser de côté Mr. Jonathan, c'est qu'il a son intrigue à lui.[10]

Sardou a remplacé le raisonneur de Molière par un montreur qui a pour fonction de fournir aux Américains des occasions de s'expliquer au public, de révéler toute leur bizarrerie. Le montreur, que nous retrouverons souvent, est, en général, Français, mais il sera aussi bien Anglais ou Américain, car même s'il fut nourri dans le sérail, il pourra n'en pas connaître les plus intéressants détours. M. Quentin qui a étudié l'éducation américaine en appelle à Miss Deborah sur le chapitre de l'obéïssance filiale et s'attire la réplique que vous savez. Après avoir été cinq ans secrétaire de banque à New-York, Royce s'étonne encore des principes de l'endroit.[11] Un vieil Américain qui a éléve une famille et dupé nombre de ses compatriotes apprend sur son New-York des choses que nous n'aurions pas soupçonnées.[12]

Le langage de Miss Deborah illumine les longues dissertations dont la pièce fourmille. C'est un tissu de fautes de grammaire piqué de cocasseries. Par exemple, quand on accuse la savante Américaine d'avoir pour le moins quarante-cinq ans d'âge, "J'en avais vingt-deux," dit-elle.[13] L'auteur a pensé qu'il ne fallait

---

10 Il en est de même des deux autres pièces de Sardou; *Daniel Rochat* a deux intrigues, *l'Oncle Sam* en a trois. Voir: *les Américains chez nous, Paris-New-York, les Transatlantiques.*

11 *Une Affaire d'or*, I, i.

12 "*l'Oncle Sam*", II, iv, v, vi.
Dans *la Bataille*, où le montreur est artiste et artiste français, nous voyons immédiatement tout ce qui manque à l'Américaine.

13 I, vii.
D'un jeune homme qu'on lui présente elle dit: "Il est très confortable." (III, v.)

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

pas abuser de cet amusement. L'autre Américain de la pièce parle très bien le français. Dans les autres pièces de Sardou les personnages parleront tous correctement. Les Américains feront des jeux de mots dignes du boulevard.[14] Les Américaines sauront les nuances du parler parisien,[15] n'emploieront un terme anglais que si l'équivalent n'existe pas en français,[16] passeront du *vous* au *tu* avec toute la subtilité d'Hermione.[17]

La comédie de Sardou n'eut pas d'abord tout l'effet qu'on pouvait en attendre. Les pièces qui se réglèrent sur elle lui ressemblèrent surtout par les beaux côtés. Nous prendrons comme exemple *Miss Suzanne,* de Legouvé, qui, d'une façon discrète et sûre, louait l'éducation des Américaines et certains usages de leur pays.[18]

Suzanne a été élevée en Amérique. Elle a rapporté de New-York une âme forte et habituée au travail et au gouvernement d'elle-même. Elle est naïve, certes, mais par droiture et non par ignorance comme le sont les jeunes filles françaises. Elle est institutrice. Accoutumée au respect avec lequel les Américains traitent les gens qui travaillent, et surtout les femmes, elle fait sans inquiétude et sans honte sa lourde tâche de maîtresse au cachet. Elle est fiancée à un jeune officier. Du moins elle se considère fiancée puisqu'elle a avoué au jeune homme qu'elle l'aime; et elle le lui a avoué parce qu'il l'a interrogée. Elle n'en a pas parlé à son père, non pas qu'elle manque d'affection et de respect pour le "gouverneur," comme elle dit, mais parce qu'elle pense avec ses anciennes condisciples que

> Recevoir un mari de la main de son père
> Pour une jeune fille est un pauvre régal.

Une tante de Suzanne, qui n'a pas été élevée en Amérique, craint que l'officier n'entende pas mariage. Sans hésiter Suzanne questionne son amoureux. Il avoue qu'en effet il ne songeait pas à

---

[14] *Daniel Rochat,* I, vii; *Fem. Fortes,* III, vi; *l'Oncle Sam,* III, iii; IV, ii, vi.

[15] *l'Oncle Sam,* I, viii. Les Henderson (*Dan. Rochat*) jouent sur les mots *église* et *temple* qui traduisent tous les deux le mot anglais "church". Voir tout le rôle de mistress Eva Blounth de *Rabagas* (Sardou, 1872).

[16] "Dan. Rochat", II, xv; "Fem. Fortes", III, v. Quand elles se trompent de mots c'est la langue qui a tort ("Dan. Rochat", II, i).

[17] Dan. Rochat, IV, viii; *l'Oncle Sam,* III, xiv; IV, vii.

[18] Sardou lui-même a vu l'Américaine d'un autre œil et l'a montrée dans "Rabagas" ingénieuse et troublante.
De la même epoque: *le Planteur,* opéra comique, de Saint-Georges, *l'Américaine,* comédie, de la comtesse de Chabrillan.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

se marier. Son attitude s'explique aisément. Il a fait la connaissance de Suzanne d'une manière extraordinaire, dans un omnibus. Il n'avait pas sa bourse; Suzanne lui offrit les trois sous dont il avait besoin pour payer sa place.

II

Sardou s'est rendu compte dès sa première pièce que pour comprendre la société américaine il faut comprendre d'abord la femme américaine qui en est l'arbitre. Bien qu'elle parle peu, Miss Deborah est le sujet principal des *Femmes fortes*. Dans les deux autres pièces de la trilogie que nous étudions la femme américaine a le rôle prédominant. Elle est déjà, pour employer le langage des formules que l'on frappera plus tard, Ève victorieuse, le féminin triomphant.[19]

Or en Amérique la mère de famille tient une place modeste.[20] Elle est, comme le père d'ailleurs, sans aucune autorité. Chose étrange à concevoir, et qui jure avec l'austérité républicaine, c'est la jeune fille qui tient les rênes sociales. A la maison, dans le monde, c'est elle qui commande. Tout plie devant elle, elle dispose de tout. Au faîte de la démocratie que les hommes de '76 ont fondée, apothéose ironique à leurs mâles travaux, la jeune fille règne impérieuse et gourmande.

Au rebours de la méthode française qui dirige, protège, garde la jeune fille, l'élève dans la prudence, la contrainte, la terreur de l'opinion; la méthode américaine, qui vise à en faire une créature de tête capable de se conduire elle-même, lui donne la liberté la plus grande. L'éducation française repose sur ce principe: L'inexpérience a besoin d'un guide. L'éducation américaine part de cet aphorisme: voulez-vous que vos filles apprennent à nager? Jetez-les à l'eau.[21]

Alors qu'en France, où la vie est difficile, le but de la famille est d'assurer l'avenir des garçons, en Amérique, terre d'abondance infinie, on a la certitude que les fils feront ainsi qu'ont fait les pères. Les jeunes gens de leur côté veulent ne devoir qu'à soi le gain de leur fortune. Ils ont leur million à l'âge où le Français

[19] M. P. Bourget, *Outre-Mer;* P. de Coulevain, *Eve Victorieuse.*
Presque tous les renseignements que nous donne P. de Coulevain sont dans les pièces de Sardou; Cf. *Noblesse Américaine*, pp. 13, 27, 102, 117, 229.

[20] *l'Oncle Sam*, II, x.

[21] *l'Oncle Sam*, I, iii.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

n'a pas son baccalauréat;[22] et ils passent leur vie à acquérir d'autres millions. Ce sont leurs filles qui jouissent de cette richesse.

La ménagère américaine n'existe pas. Pas une de ces jeunes ladies qui soit en état d'ordonner un repas ou d'ourler un mouchoir. Pas une qui veuille céder une parcelle de sa liberté.[23] Elles suivent leurs caprices avec un égoïsme imperturbable, une ténacité digne des traditions. Sardou va nous faire voir à quoi rêvent ces jeunes filles.

* * *

L'Oncle Sam, 1873. La scène est en Amérique, dans le salon d'un bateau. Les Américains qui y figurent sont de la bonne sorte, de la Cinquième Avenue. L'auteur donne d'abord en de petits croquis et des lambeaux de conversation un tableau des mœurs de l'endroit.

Une jeune miss veut une chaise déjà prise. Elle fait lever l'occupant en lui donnant deux petits coups d'éventail sur l'épaule. Le jeune homme cède sa place, et, comme il est Français, il va saluer celle qui l'a dérangé, quand une compatriote à lui, plus au courant des usages du pays, lui conseille de n'en rien faire. En Amérique on ne salue pas une dame à moins qu'elle ne vous ait parlé la première. Or celle-ci ne vous a rien dit. Elle voulait votre chaise. Du reste elle n'adresserait pas la parole à un monsieur qu'elle ne connaît pas.

On peut dire qu'en Amérique on ne salue pas les dames du tout. L'Américain est tout respect pour les femmes; mais sa politesse ne consiste pas à ôter le chapeau. De leur côté les femmes ne sont pas exigeantes sur le chapitre de la courtoisie. Voyez ces voyageurs, "les femmes autour du piano, les hommes tous assis, le chapeau sur la tête, les pieds en l'air—les uns sur les dossiers des meubles, les autres sur la table, les balustrades, le piano. . ."[24]

Un autre passager, Français aussi, cause avec des amis. Une Américaine qu'il ne connaît pas lui passe un verre pour qu'il l'en débarrasse. Le jeune homme saisi d'étonnement ne bouge pas. Alors l'Américaine se retourne et le dévisage.

Une divorcée remariée rencontre son ancien mari. On se serre

[22] Jonathan (*Fem. Fortes*); Ulysse (*l'Oncle Sam*).
[23] *l'Oncle Sam*, II, x.
[24] I, viii. Voir: *Fem. Fortes*, II, xiii.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

les mains avec des cris de joie; puis la dame appelle son second mari, le présente au premier et les envoie bras dessus, bras dessous, prendre une consommation ensemble.

Parmi les voyageuses se trouve l'oratrice du culte des *Amours libres*. Vous entendez bien qu'il ne s'agit pas des dames dont parle Dumas fils, qui se passent du mariage. Les *Amours libres* sont une secte religieuse . . . qui proteste contre le mariage. D'autres passagères sont *perfectionnistes*, c'est-à-dire qu'elles contractent, en vue de l'autre monde, un mariage spirituel.

Les Français ayant été présentés, les Américaines les regardent bien en face, leur donnent de vigoureuses poignées de main et leur posent les questions accoutumées: Faites-vous les cotons ou les sucresé L'un ayant répondu qu'il n'est pas commerçant, ses interlocutrices s'éloignent de lui avec un rire de mépris. Elles reviennent lorsqu'il ajoute qu'il a sa fortune faite. Elles ont le même dédain en apprenant que l'autre Français, pour tout métier, joue du violon, et la même familiarité quand il avoue qu'à jouer du violon il gagne beaucoup d'argent.

Lorsque Miss Sarah Tapplebot sait que M. Robert de Rochemore est marquis, elle lui fait un aimable salut, et lui prend le bras . . . comme elle a pris sa chaise. Elle l'emmène visiter New-York et l'invite à un thé qu'elle donne le soir même. Bien qu'ils aient tout seuls couru les pâtisseries, M. de Rochemore ne peut s'empêcher de demander si les parents de Miss Tapplebot ne trouveront pas mauvais qu'il se présente chez eux sans autre forme d'introduction. Mes parents, dit la jeune fille en éclatant de rire, mais ça ne les regarde pas.

Miss Sarah nous explique la conduite de ses affaires de cœur. Pour commencer, elle tient une stricte comptabilité de tout. Elle écrit d'un côté les dépenses que ses amoureux font pour elle, et de l'autre côté les faveurs qu'ils reçoivent d'elle. De cette façon, elle sait toujours, à un bouquet près, à une caresse, où elle en est, et contrôle le cours de ses romans. Avant d'accorder un compte courant, elle s'enquiert de la valeur (financière, américaine) du candidat; celui cesse-t-il d'être solvable, elle clôt les opérations. Elle garde un mémorandum des promesses qui échappent à l'amoureux, pour le cas où il y aurait lieu de recourir au tribunal.

Les Tapplebot vivent à l'hôtel. Tous les Américains vivent à l'hôtel, leurs femmes étant incapables de tenir une maison. Le mobilier du salon est prétentieux et de mauvais goût.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Il n'y a ni papas ni mamans à la réception des Misses Tapplebot. On est entre garçons des deux sexes. Les jeunes filles, décolletées, fardées et bruyantes, ont chacune son cavalier. Robert plein de crainte songe à s'en aller; mais Sarah s'empare de lui. Des fleurs, des parfums, un tendre éclairage, une musique lointaine, partout le masque de l'amour . . . Le Français perd la tête. L'Américaine est calme. Vous avez bien, dit-elle l'intention de m'épouser si vous me convenez? Écrivez cela sur mon carnet. Vous êtes marquis? riche? Dites-moi le nom de votre banquier. Les réponses étant satisfaisantes, Sarah enlève son prétendant. Pour le mieux connaître, elle passera quelques jours avec lui dans une ville voisine.

Sur ces entrefaites, une amie de Sarah ayant étudié la situation du violoniste, le mène, en riant, à un ministre protestant en train de déjeuner sur la terrasse d'un casino. La jeune fille prie gaiement le pasteur de la bénir ainsi que son compagnon. Le pasteur jovial donne sa bénédiction entre deux gorgées de chocolat . . . et New-York compta une aventurière de moins.

Mais Sarah s'est prise à son propre jeu. Elle aime Robert. D'abord elle a fui devant un sentiment qui menaçait sa clairvoyance. Robert offre le mariage. Les parents de Sarah que l'on n'a pas prévenus se servent pour réclamer une indemnité de la promesse que Robert a écrite. On finit par s'entendre, et le mariage aura lieu. Quand Robert parle de retourner tout de suite en France avec sa femme: Ah! oui . . . allons . . . chez nous! soupire l'Américaine régénérée.

* * *

"Si vous [les Américains] êtes merveilleux comme peuple en route," dit un personnage de l'*Oncle Sam*, "vous n'êtes pas du tout l'idéal d'un peuple arrivé . . . et alors qu'on n'ait donc plus la rage de vous offrir à nous pour modèle . . ."[25] Le but de la pièce était évidemment de conjurer l'influence américaine qui gagnait Paris. Comme plus tard M. Brieux, Sardou faisait œuvre de combat.

Il dut porter la guerre sur le territoire de l'ennemi. Il ne pouvait opposer à la société américaine, si méprisable qu'elle fût, la société française à laquelle il avait lui-même jeté l'anathème. Ce

[25] I, iii.

Si nous en croyons Jonathan (*Fem. Fortes*, III, iii) déjà en 1860 les Américaines n'étaient pas le modèle des femmes.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

sont en effet ses études de mœurs parisiennes contemporaines qui lui servirent de brouillons pour ses études de mœurs américaines.[26] A tout prendre, l'*Oncle Sam* n'est pas plus sévère aux Américains que le sont aux Français telles pièces de Sardou écrites une dizaine d'années auparavant. Déjà en 1865, Sardou était arrivé sur le compte de ses compatriotes aux conclusions qu'il applique aux gens de New-York. La Parisienne, disait-il alors, "est toujours sortie, elle va, vient, trotte de Trouville à Ems aussi facilement que son aïeule de l'armoire au linge à l'armoire aux confitures . . ." Le mari, pendant ce temps-là, chiffre sans relâche. C'est en France que Sardou trouvait pour la première fois (chez les hommes, il est vrai) la "jeune âme de négociant dirigeant sa petite passion méthodique avec la calme résolution qui doit présider aux opérations de banque."[27]

Les Américaines de Sardou sont très instruites. L'une émet sur l'histoire de France des vues qui ne manquent pas de justesse,[28] une autre a lu les relations des explorateurs de l'Afrique, et jusqu'aux tragédies de Voltaire.[29] Ce savoir est un travers de plus. Il est purement livresque. C'est un maquillage. Les Américaines ont la manie dissertante, croient neuf ce qu'elles viennent de lire, en discourent avec autant de suffisance que de maladresse. Et puis c'est un savoir d'homme. En Amérique il n'y a qu'une façon de penser et de sentir; là, contrairement à ce qu'en disait Lemaître, les cerveaux n'ont pas de sexe.

Dans les pièces qui suivent immédiatement l'*Oncle Sam* l'Américaine joue un rôle effacé. Je ne parle pas de l'*Étrangère* de Dumas puisque Mrs. Clarkson est, de l'aveu de l'auteur, une sorte de monstre. Le *Drame au fond de la mer*, de Dugué, les *Chevaliers de la patrie*, de Delpit, le *Jonathan*, de Gondinet, s'attachent à peindre, d'une manière très flatteuse d'ailleurs, le gentleman améri-

[26] M. R. Doumic disait en 1895: "Ce que vous trouverez presque uniquement au théâtre, c'est la peinture de cette vie factice, artificielle, fausse . . . Tout y passe . . . jusqu'à la jeune fille qu'on désigne comme je ne vous le rappellerai pas." (*Essais sur le Théâtre Contemporain*, pp. 301 et suiv.)
Les traits les plus noirs des Américaines ont déjà brillamment servi chez des Françaises; Comp.: *la Bataille*, I, vii; II, iii, avec *Mais les hommes n'en sauront rien* (M. F. Gandéra), II, viii.

[27] *La Famille Benoiton*, I, iv; qui est une étude du résultat du systeme positif et pratique, III, xix.

[28] *Dan Rochat*, I, vii.

[29] *Dan. Rochat*, I, x.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

cain. Nous passerons à la troisième étude de Sardou avant de tracer l'influence qu'il a eue dans la comédie américaine.

Mais nous pouvons dès maintenant esquisser dans ses grandes lignes le portrait de l'Américaine telle que nous la verrons au théâtre désormais. C'est, en général, une jeune fille très légère, et qui ne connaît d'autre loi que son bon plaisir.[30] Elle est pratique; non pas qu'elle fasse œuvre de ses dix doigts, mais en ce sens qu'elle est étrangère à toute complication sentimentale, et vise à tirer des choses et des gens le meilleur parti possible.[31] C'est une viveuse. Elle n'a aucun tact, aucune distinction, une sorte de hauteur et beaucoup d'assurance y suppléant. Sous des airs de démocratie, c'est une snob.[32] Elle est, au demeurant, parfaitement franche; moins par souci de la vérité, cependant, que par manque de retenue. Elle a sur le bien et le mal des idées très larges, mais dont elle ne passera pas les limites. Elle a l'ennui du bien-être qui fait extravaguer la sensibilité; mais elle est comme l'épingle, il y a toujours, chez elle, la tête qui l'empêche de se perdre.[33]

III

Sardou a déjà daubé sur les pratiques religieuses des Américaines, le "Revival," où les dames font leur confession tout haut, les cultes qui servent à masquer des vices.[34] Dans sa dernière

[30] "En Amérique ce que femme veut, Dieu est obligé de le faire" (*Paris-New-York*, III, ix). Les parents n'ont aucune autorité, "Je ne regrette pas du tout, dira une jeune fille à sa mère, le mal que j'ai eu à vous élever." (*Service Secret*", Decourcelle et Gillette, 1897, I, iii.)

[31] "N'attendez rien de l'entraînement du coeur, ni des sens! . . . cuirassé, blindé, tout ça! . . . (*l'Oncle Sam*, II, x). Miss Sarah est l'exception qui prouve la règle . . . et le pourvoir de l'élégance française.

Nous relevons un vague démenti dans *la Meute*, de M. A. Hermant: ". . . nous autres, qui passons pour plutôt froids, dit une Américaine, nous sommes au contraire du premier mouvement. . . . Les traités d'amitié se concluent chez nous aussi vite que les affaires, quand on les croit bonnes . . ." (II, xii).

[32] Elle ne veut pas de la noblesse, disait Becque, elle n'en veut pas avec délire (*les Polichinelles*, I, vii). Cf. *Comme ils sont tous*, de MM. Aderer et Ephraim, I, x; *les Transatlantiques, Paris-New-York, etc.*" . . . il court en Amérique un petit bouquin où figurent, avec annotations, tous les nobles décavés épousables de l'Ancien Monde . . ." (*la Meute*, II, xii).

[33] *Le Caducée*, II, vii.

Un dramatiste anglais a donné cette formule: "Some of these American women are strangely sexless." (M. W. S. Maugham, *Our Betters*). Cette opinion est actuellement à peu près le seul point de contact entre la comédie américaine de Paris et celle de Londres. Jadis les mêmes personnages amusaient les deux capitales (*Notre Cousin d'Amérique*, Tom Taylor, 1867); aujourd'hui, sur la scène anglaise (*A Woman of no Importance*, d'Oscar Wilde, *The Little Man*, de M. Galsworthy) les Américains se rendent ridicules par leur manie de prêcher.

[34] *l'Oncle Sam*, I, iii, viii.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

pièce il nous montre—sans se moquer, cette fois—des Américaines abordant une question de principes religieux. Sans doute parce que les Misses Henderson ont beaucoup voyagé, parce que nous les comparons aux plats personnages qui les entourent, toujours est-il que leur suffisance est moins agaçante, leur franchise moins crue; et l'on sent quelque chose qui rayonne dans leur bigoterie étroite.

Daniel Rochat, 1880. Le député Daniel Rochat est amoureux d'une touriste américaine, Miss Lea Henderson. Mieux ils se connaissent plus ils se conviennent. Ils ont les mêmes convictions: M. Rochat fait la guerre à l'Église, Miss Henderson méprise les prêtres. Ils sont mariés par le maire de l'endroit.

Arrive alors un ami de la famille Henderson, un gentleman d'aspect sévère, que l'on appelle: mon Révérend. Le pasteur—car ce n'est autre qu'un pasteur protestant—est venu faire les derniers préparatifs du rendez-vous au temple. Daniel se récrie. S'il combat les superstitions des catholiques, ce n'est pas pour y substituer celles des protestants. La discussion est inutile. Lea n'a aucun respect pour le mariage civil; elle ne saurait, en conscience, se considérer la femme de Daniel tant qu'ils n'auront pas été unis par le pasteur.

Un médecin donne son avis: L'amour (le docteur dit: la nature) aura bon marché de toutes les théologies du monde. Daniel entre furtivement dans la chambre de Lea. La tentative échoue parce que, si éprise qu'elle soit, cette jeune fille-ci est d'une race où l'on apprend aux jeunes filles à connaître le danger et à s'en défendre. Forte sous les sanglots qui la déchirent, elle repousse tout accommodement. Daniel se retire.

Il finit pourtant par céder. Mais il est trop tard, l'idylle a péri. A la perspective d'un amour amoindri, lourd de compromis, entravé de defiances, Lea préfère qu'ils reconnaissent avoir fait fausse route en s'engageant l'un à l'autre.

A côté de ce roman il y en a un autre dont le cours est sans écueils. Casimir Fargis est très amoureux de Miss Esther Henderson. La jeune fille a certaines idées à elle, le jeune homme est sans doctrine aucune. Miss Esther consent à s'occuper de sa conquête, à l'utiliser. Car d'abord, il faut qu'il travaille.—Mais il est riche.—Raison de plus pour qu'il travaille; il travaillera pour les pauvres. Miss Esther dirige quelques œuvres de bienfaisance qui réclament beaucoup de soins; M. Casimir travaillera à ses côtés.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Une tante des demoiselles Henderson s'addonne à faire triompher dans le Vieux-Monde les principes du Nouveau-Monde. Elle convertit l'Europe au Christianisme par de bonnes paroles et de petits verres de liqueur. Nous retrouvons nos connaissances de New-York dans les cousines Bloomfield qui, pendant la cérémonie du mariage civil, s'amusent à jouer avec l'écharpe du maire.

* * *

Miss Deborah appartenait à une société de tempérance et buvait du rhum. Les Tapplebot et leurs amies condamnaient les mœurs de Paris,[35] et pratiquaient l'amour libre à New-York. L'auteur, disions-nous, a voulu montrer jusqu'où peut aller la naïveté. Mais ici Sardou a tenu à indiquer un trait caractéristique de l'Américaine: son manque de franchise envers soi-même et envers les autres.[36] Les Henderson ont tout fait pour donner à penser qu'elles méprisent les cérémonies religieuses. Rien n'indiquait que pour elles: "Pas de prêtre et pas d'église," cela voulût dire: Place au pasteur et gloire au temple. Je sais bien que le député Rochat est, à quelque degré qu'ait voulu son créateur, un sot;[37] mais la sottise de la dupe n'excuse pas le dupeur. Les Américaines ont triché. Lea, pour une, possède l'art de ne pas répondre aux questions embarrassantes: "Votre conscience," demande Daniel, "votre conscience ne vous dit pas qu'un serment fait aux hommes est toujours sacré"—"Moins sacré que les promesses faites au ciel," dit-elle.[38] Elle a dû beaucoup ruser ainsi dans les longues promenades qu'elle fit avec Daniel sur les bords des lacs suisses.

IV

Nous analyserons quelques-unes des pièces les plus importantes du répertoire contemporain.[39] Le *Je ne sais quoi?* de M. F. de Croisset, 1901, est le seul exemple que j'aie pu trouver d'une femme

[35] *l'Oncle Sam*, I, viii.

[36] C'est un trait que nos auteurs contemporains ont laissé perdre. A peine trouve-t-on çà et là une petite accusation d'hypocrisie: *le Caducée*, II, x; *l'Épervier*, III, ii; *la revue du Vaudeville*, (1923), Sc. iii.

[37] II, ix.

[38] III, v.

[39] Citons pour mémoire: *les Six Parties du monde*, de L. Figuier, 1877 (6 etableau); *Blackson, Père et Fille*, de Delavigne et Normand, 1877; *le Voyage en Amérique*, de Raymond et Boucheron, 1880; *l'Abbé Constantin*, de Cremieux et Decourcelle, 1887; *Madame l'Avocat*, de Dupré et Galipaux, 1896; *Gentil Crampon*, de Larcher, Monnier et Montignac, 1897.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

américaine qui soit d'abord une femme tout court.[40] Maggie Smithson, la fille unique du roi du pétrole, a voulu faire un mariage d'amour. A New-York, elle allait au bal modestement vêtue d'une petite robe bleu. C'est à un de ces bals que Philippe d'Évreux la vit. Ils se sont aimés, mariés, et n'en continueront pas moins de s'aimer. Malheureusement, Maggie a une facon d'entendre le bonheur qui ne saurait convenir en France à la marquise d'Évreux. Philippe n'entend pas refaire l'idylle d'Atala au faubourg Saint-Germain. Il exige que sa femme prenne le ton de la société à laquelle ils appartiennent.

Maggie fait de son mieux. Ayant surpris Philippe embrassant la comtesse d'Arleval, elle s'incline devant la parenté qu'on lui signale. Puis elle invoque le même droit de cousinage quand elle s'est laissé surprendre dans les bras du comte d'Arleval. Grâce aux leçons du comte Maggie découvre ce qui fait la Parisienne.

Dans *Paris-New-York*, écrit en collaboration avec M. E. Arène, 1907, ramena l'Américaine au vaudeville. Desdemone Helson doit épouser le prince Roland de Roncevaux. L'Américaine achète de la noblesse. Comme l'indique son nom, le duc de Commersac, père de Roland, n'en est pas à sa première opération. Tout conspire contre le mariage projeté. D'abord c'est un cousin de Desdemone qui manque de le faire échouer. C'est le langage, les manières de Desdemone,[41] et finalement la conduite de Roland qui le rendent impossible. Quand Desdemone surprend Roland en délit de mensonge, elle oublie jusqu'aux faveurs qu'il a reçues d'elle.

M. Brieux est, après Sardou, celui qui a le plus contribué à établir le type de l'Américaine au théâtre; non pas qu'il y ait apporté des connaissances plus sûres; mais parce que, du moins dans sa seconde pièce, écrite après la guerre, il a montré quelque bienveillance. Dans *la Française*, 1907, nous retrouvons Miss Deborah, telle qu'elle a dû être à vint-cinq ans. A un jeune homme qui la demandait en mariage Miss Margaret a tenu le discours suivant: "J'ai reçu une éducation virile . . . Les frissons d'enthousiasme que j'ai ressentis aux récits des grands actes du passé ne m'ont pas préparée pour un avenir aussi terre à terre. . ." Miss Margaret est ingénieur,

[40] Je considère seulement les pièces jouées; autrement, il faudrait excepter *les Ailes closes*, de M. R. d'Humières, par exemple, où l'Américaine "élevée comme un homme, n'en est pas moins très femme avec quelque chose de plus impulsif et spontané que chez nous." Voir: *..l'Échange*, de P. Claudel, 1894.

[41] II, ii, vi.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

"elle a inauguré un club d'études par un discours sur le relèvement de la femme nègre, elle veut être avocat."[42]

Une Affaire d'or, de M. M. Gerbidon, fut représentée en 1912. Miss Cynthia et Mr. Hutchinson sont fiancés . . . sous condition. Cynthia n'épousera jamais qu'un homme très riche. De tous ses flirts—elle emploie le système de comptabilité de Sarah Tapplebot —Hutchinson est actuellement le milliardaire le plus probable. Qu'il se dèpêche, car au premier arrivé la préférence. Cynthia est très affairée: "Hier," dit-elle, "j'ai fait dix-sept visites, j'ai été à trois thés, j'ai visité quatre expositions; le soir j'ai assisté à un très grand dîner et j'ai passé dans cinq soirées dansantes." C'est une marionnette à la vapeur, toujours à la recherche de quelque chose "d'excitant," qu'elle trouve d'ailleurs, là où on s'y attendrait le moins. Ne veut-elle pas le lait le plus cher de New-York, le plus vieux domestique! A la vue d'une peinture elle s'écrie: "C'est un des plus petits tableaux que j'ai vus, et, au prix que M. Gibbs l'a payé, cela le met à deux cent vingt dollars le centimètre carré." Par contre elle ne trouve rien d'excitant dans le récit d'une bagarre entre la police et des ouvriers affamés ou de la mort d'un enfant qui a péri de misère.

A côté de Cynthia il y a l'Irlandaise Emma Royce et la Française Germaine Gibbs, née Lesage, désintéressées toutes les deux, désapprouvant la richesse. Germaine a épousé un milliardaire; mais elle lutte contre le flot menaçant des dollars, et, pour sauver son mari de lui-même, elle le ruine. Il suffit d'entendre parler les trois femmes pour mesurer la distance qui sépare les deux Européennes de l'Américaine. "Si vous saviez," dit Germaine, "quelle lassitude vous laissent les souhaits comblés avant d'être formés! . . . Il me semble que tout cet argent me pèse sur la poitrine. . ." L'Américaine ne craint pas la satiété." Pour me mettre en valeur," dit-elle, "il me faut une grosse, une très grosse fortune. . ."; ou encore: "Nous sommes faites pour dépenser l'argent que nous gagnent les hommes, peu importe comment ils le gagnent."[43]

Dans *la Bataille* de M. P. Frondaie, 1921, nous avons la parfaite Américaine du théâtre contemporain. L'auteur a utilisé moins les

[42] I, vii.

Les Américaines manquent de goût: "On trouve dans nos magasins de Paris des potiches qui, avec un bouquet de mimosa de quatre sous, auraient l'air d'un objet d'art, dans un salon de Chicago (II, vii). Cf. *la Rampe*, de M. de Rothschild, IV, v; *le Voyageur*, Sc. iv.

[43] II, i, ix.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

données du roman de M. C. Farrère que la tradition courante du personnage. Mrs. Hockley est vulgaire, despote, millionnaire, millionnaire des pieds à la tête, corps et âme. Elle a l'horreur de tout ce qui n'est pas américain, et n'hésite pas à le dire. Sa conversation, pareille à celle des Tapplebot, est une enquête. Elle s'empare de vous, vous bouscule, crochète votre confiance. Elle a, dit quelqu'un, cette force prodigieuse de prendre tous ceux qui l'approchent pour des ombres.

De passage au Japon, elle a eu vite fait de nouer connaissance avec le monde des cosmopolites, et a réussi à se faire présenter chez des personnalités du pays. Son ami actuel, un artiste français, offre des conseils; mais l'impétueuse Américaine ne veut rien entendre. Elle va accumulant les gaffes sur les maladresses, les incongruités sur les sottises: "Avez-vous jamais vu," s'écrie-t-elle, "quand on lui présente Mme. Yorisaka, avez-vous jamais vu jusqu'ici quelque objet plus précieux que cette marquise? . . . Oh! chère petite marquise de Chicago!" La réserve de ses hôtes, certaines ironies devraient avertir la trop cordiale visiteuse que ses avances ne sont pas fort goûtées; mais Mrs. Hockley est indestructible. Elle s'engage à distraire la marquise Yorisaka pendant que le marquis sera à la guerre. Elle s'y prendra d'une façon qui ne saurait manquer de changer les idées noires d'une marquise nipponne, et ses autres idées aussi bien. Elle commence par un bal où elle fait subir à la grande dame le contact d'un ramassis d'individus dont l'hôtesse elle-même pourrait à peine dire comme ils se nomment.

Parmi cette société de personnes qu'elle connaît et de gens qui la connaissent, Mrs. Hockley s'étale somptueuse et gauche. Elle a pour tous le même sourire, elle les traite tous avec la même familiarité, ou, selon le mot de M. Brieux, la même famillionnarité. Qu'elle s'adresse à quelqu'un de sa suite ou à la femme d'un grand seigneur japonais, le ton ne change pas, la requête est la même: Amusez-moi, dit l'Américaine.

* * *

M. Brieux écrivit les *Américains chez nous*, 1920, pour rectifier la légende de l'Américain vulgaire et ridicule, de l'Américaine riche et grossière.[44] Il se pourrait cependant que cette pièce con-

[44] Déjà en 1901, dans *la Course de flambeau*, Hervieu avait parlé d'elle comme d'une "brave créature, simple, ignorante, sauvage (IV, ii). *Mon ami Teddy*, de MM. Rivoire et Besnard (1910) assurait que les jeunes filles d'Amérique ne sont pas toutes si américaines qu'on le dit (I, xiii).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

çue dans un élan de reconnaissance "aux femmes des États-Unis qui se penchèrent sur nos douleurs," fît moins de bien en rayant quelques préjugés qu'elle ne fait de mal en en renforçant d'autres.

Henriette Charvet a servi de mère à son frère cadet, Henri. Elle s'est entièrement dévouée à lui. Elle a arrangé la vie du jeune homme comme elle fît celle de l'enfant. La guerre survint. Au front, Henri s'est fiancé avec une infirmière, Nellie Brown, une Américaine.

Il vient d'avouer cela quand un domestique annonce Miss Brown. Henri n'est pas moins surpris que son père et sa sœur de cette visite inopinée. M. Charvet père, qui s'est le premier remis de son étonnement, assure qu'il ne faut pas mal interprêter cette visite de Miss Brown: Dans leur pays, dit-il, les Américaines font ainsi.

Miss Brown n'est pas millionnaire. Elle manque de tact; mais elle est pleine de simplicité. Elle est généreuse et abrupte. Elle a sur beaucoup de choses des vues personnelles qu'elle exprime avec aisance. Elle manque d'éducation; ne s'avise-t-elle pas de causer en anglais avec Henri, sachant pertinemment que ni M. Charvet ni Henriette ne comprennent l'anglais. Elle ne fume pas.

Elle est directrice d'une œuvre de bienfaisance à Chicago. Son hôpital a besoin d'un médecin, un docteur français de préférence, pourvu qu'il sache l'anglais. Le poste est offert à Henri. Il hésite. Quitter la France en ce moment, ce serait déserter. Nellie comprend parfaitement les scrupules de son fiancé; mais elle a, elle aussi, un devoir à remplir; ses pauvres l'attendent. Quand Henri parle du chagrin qu'il causerait aux siens s'il quittait la France, Nellie comprend moins bien. Mais vous-même, Nellie, "n'estce pas aussi pour retrouver votre mère que vous retournez là-bas?" L'Américaine a un cri du cœur; je ne saurais dire si elle a ri: "Pas du tout!" di-elle. "C'est pour le settlement."

Nellie a pris ses mesures pour se faire bien venir de la grande sœur de son fiancé; mais elle n'y est pas parvenu. Henriette est irritée de la façon dont l'Américaine accapare Henri. Pour éclaircir, s'il se peut, le malentendu, Nellie demande à Henriette d'exposer ses griefs. Tandis qu' Henriette s'emporte, accuse, pleure, Nellie demeure calme. Sachez que Nellie ne perd jamais son sangfroid, qu'elle n'a jamais pleuré. Elle a beau jeu, certes; mais l'on sent qu'elle serait sans amertume ni colère si elle venait à perdre la partie.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Elle perd. Henri ne veut pas quitter son pays. Nellie respecte la conviction de son fiancé; mais elle se considérerait diminuée si elle sacrifiait la sienne. Plus grand que l'amour est le devoir qu'a toute personne de vivre sa vie comme elle l'entend.

Les travaux de la paix, les troubles du rajustement ont commencé. Une bagarre a lieu. Henri parle aux hommes, prend l'un des meneurs à bras le corps, et tandis que celui-ci cherche à frapper, Henri l'embrasse en riant. Nellie est émerveillée. Pour une fois, elle est émue; elle pleure. L'Américaine, comme jadis Sarah Tapplebot, a trop présumé de ses forces. L'amour, comme le faisait remarquer M. G. Sorbets, l'amour l'incline finalement à devenir Française.[45]

* * *

La principale source de comique des pièces contemporaines est la langue des Américaines. C'est un français très pur, qui ne manque ni de vigueur ni de finesse, et qui a, en plus, des fautes et des grossièretés. On croit entendre une demoiselle du faubourg Saint-Germain qui aurait fait un stage à Montparnasse. Des phrases très élégantes ont des chutes inattendues: "Roland ressemble à ce guillotiné qui vécut avec tant de grâce et qui est mort avec tant de culot."[46]

Prenons deux exemples, *le Caducée* (1921), *le Je ne sais quoi* (1901). Dans la première pièce l'Américaine s'exprime avec une parfaite aisance jusqu'au moment où elle se souvient qu'elle est Américaine. Alors les "ne moquez pas," "vous avez entouré elle," "dedans ses mains" jonchent sa conversation (l'auteur a eu l'ingénieuse attention de placer ces expressions entre guillemets). Dès que la pièce prend corps, qu'il va se passer quelque chose d'important, Mrs. Watson retourne à sa première manière.[47]

L'héroïne du *Je ne sais quoi?* est pareillement sujette à une capricieuse inspiration. Les mots ne viennent pas, ou ceux qui viennent sont des termes de caboulot. Tournez quelques pages, et toute une scène durant pas une erreur, pas la moindre hésitation, mais des phrases claires, fluides, jolies. Souvent dans une même scène l'Américaine parle deux languages. Après avoir barbotté dans un argot de voyou, elle se laissera emporter par la tristesse ou l'ironie,

[45] *La Petite Illustration*, 7 février, 1920.

[46] *Paris-New-York*, II, vi.

[47] II, xvi. Dans *le Mystère de la chambre jaune*, de M. G. Leroux (1912), comp.: I, iv, v avec II, i, iv.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

et atteindra, avec une parfaite sûreté de touche, à l'impertinence ou au pathétique. C'est ainsi qu'après s'être qualifiée elle-même de femme rigolo, elle lance d'un trait la tirade qui finit sur cette phrase: "Alors, après avoir été triste un moment, je serais de nouveau heureuse d'avoir souffert, bien heureuse puisqu'il fallait absolument que l'un de nous deux souffrît et que le bonheur a voulu que ce fût moi."[48] Si Maggie ne faisait que d'arriver à Paris, et n'avait apparemment commencé ses visites par les halles, je croirais qu'elle a beaucoup pratiqué le théâtre de M. de Croisset.

Au langage des assommoirs l'Américaine joint les façons. Elle vient à Paris pour échapper aux lois sévères de son pays. En Amérique les jeunes filles sont libres, mais les femmes non pas.[49] Les dames américaines se parisianisent très vite, et, comme elles ne font rien à demi, leurs écarts tournent bientôt à l'indécence et à la débauche (*Les Transatlantiques, Paris-New-York, l'habit vert*).

Sardou mettait le Massachusetts dans le sud des États-Unis.[50] Il disait aussi que les Américains tutoyaient leurs femmes en signe de mépris. Ses successeurs n'ont guère été plus heureux en matière d'actualités. L'un met le Wellsley College dans la ville de Boston,[51] un autre fait de Harvard une école de jeunes filles. Parmi les plus grosses erreurs de nos contemporains est l'omission de l'Américaine du mouvement féministe. On raisonne sans doute qu'ayant de prime abord atteint une pleine et entière liberté, elle ne s'intéresse pas à une lutte qui ne serait pour elle d'aucun profit.

Les pièces contemporaines se conforment pour la technique aux modèles qu'a donnés Sardou: action à peu pres nulle, développements abstraits,[52] mots d'auteur. Les seuls titres des pièces—les

[48] II, i. Voir aussi: II, v.

[49] "Vous êtes fast comme une jeune fille et cependant vous êtes une femme mariée." (*Les Transatlantiques*, M. A. Hermant, I, ix).

[50] *l'Oncle Sam*, I, iii.

[51] *Les Éclaireuses*, M. M. Donnay, I, i.

[52] Quand la scène est en France, l'auteur met près de l'Américaine une Française qui est, pour cette occasion, une âme claire, brillante et modeste. Si l'action est en Amérique, une brève évocation des choses de France est le point de repère (la tirade: "O mon doux foyer paternel . . ." *l'Oncle Sam*, II, xii, se retrouve très souvent: *Affaire d'or*, II, iv; *Américains chez nous"*, II, viii; etc.).

La ressemblance entre les Américains et les Anglais subsiste encore. M. Brieux les comprend dans l'appellation d'Anglo-Saxons (*la Française*, II, viii). D'un autre côte, la *Chaine anglaise*, de MM. Oudinot et Hermant, par exemple, ne déparerait pas nos références. M. H. Kistemaeckers a indiqué toute la différence que fait de public entre les Anglais et les Américains: les Anglais sont les Américains du dehors (*le Roi des palaces*, I, i).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Transatlantiques, les Américains chez nous, Paris-New-York—font connaître que leur but est le tableau complet en une soirée de toute l'Amérique. La tâche n'est pas faite pour effrayer. L'Amérique sortant à peine de ses jongles n'a pas l'infinie diversité des civilisations aînées; elle est une, et elle est toute entière dans chacun de ses citoyens. Alors, que ce soit Desdemone ou Cynthia ou Mrs. Hockley, qu'elle vienne de New-York, de Chicago ou de Cincinnati, elle sort si peu du fonds commun que c'est toujours la même personne. C'est au point que dans les rares pièces où il y a plus d'une Américaine (*la Bataille, les Transatlantiques*) l'auteur devra se contenter de n'en faire agir qu'une seule. Un rôle d'Américaine est aujourd'hui encore toute une pièce. L'Américaine a tant d'initiative, une telle abondance d'énergie, que l'auteur ne peut la maintenir à la place qu'il lui destinait. Lui assigne-t-il un rôle secondaire, elle joue des coudes et fait si bien qu'avant la fin du premier acte c'est elle qui mène l'action.[53]

* * *

L'Amérique a pu, par des greffes coûteuses, se faire un stock de baronnes et de duchesses; mais de tous ses blasons il n'est à elle que la dorure. Dans ses courses à travers l'Europe l'Américaine s'est seulement assimilé le vernis du monde cosmopolite. Mais on aurait tort de s'alarmer. L'invasion américaine fait en somme peu de mal à la France.[54] Paris sait conquérir ses envahisseurs. Tous les auteurs nous rassurent: l'Amérique s'agite, la France la mène.[55]

---

[53] Less exceptions sont rares: *Je suis trop grand pour moi,* de M. J. Sarment, *la Gardienne,* de M. P. Frondaie.

[54] Elle a ébranlé le protocole des salons parisiens: "J'aurais voulu, dit le marquis d'Avranches marié à une Américaine, j'aurais voulu ne voir ici que l'élite de la société parisienne; mais la marquise se laisse envahir par des financiers, des journalistes, des médecins." (*Caducée,*" II, ii). "Personne n'est invité chez les Davidson, on se présente les uns les autres." (O. Feuillet, *Chamillac,* II, vii). Voir *l'Abbé Constantin,* I, vii. "Il n'y a rien de frais au regard et au coeur comme ces bals de jeunes filles. . . . Quel dommage que des danses importées d'Amérique en aient changé le rythme et la grâce si française . . ." (M. E. Guiraud, *Une Femme,* I, v.) Voir: *Petit Chagrin,* de M. M. Vacaire, I, ii.

[55] *Pièces contemporaines à consulter:* "La Petite milliardaire," H. Dumay et L. Forest; "la Poupée américaine," Alévy, ce Cottens et Vély; "la Bande à Pick-Pock," Jourda; "le Planteur de Chicago," Marc-Twain et Tinmory; "l'Américaine," J. Revel; "Maman Colibri," Bataille (III); "le Mystérieux Jimmy," M. Mirande et H. Géroule; "la Chance du mari," de Flers et de Caillavet; "les Rois américains," Malafayde et Mme Clermont; "la Huitième femme de Barbe-Bleue," Savoir; "Cœur," R. d'Humières; "l'Habit vert," de Flers et de Caillavet; "la Belle de New-York," P. Gavault; "la Course aux dollars," Marsan et Tinmory.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

LATIN MANUSCRIPTS IN AMERICAN LIBRARIES

By B. L. Ullman
University of Chicago

Several years ago[1] I promised an addition to M. de Ricci's list of classical Latin manuscripts in American libraries.[2] I am at last ready to fulfill my promise. That there are many such manuscripts there can be no doubt. I should appreciate additions to the list or information which might lead to additions.

In this list I have not limited myself quite so narrowly or consistently in the use of the term "classical" as M. de Ricci. Eventually all Latin (and Greek) manuscripts ought to be properly catalogued, or at least listed.

One correction in M. de Ricci's list needs to be made. The Justinus there listed is now in Italy in the possession of Mr. Joseph Martini, as he informs me.

In few cases have I personally seen the manuscripts. I cannot, therefore, vouch for the accuracy of the descriptions. Even so the time needed to prepare them has been very great. I wish to thank those who have helped in the preparation of the list.

AMBROSE

Homiliae. Tuxedo Park, N.Y., Grenville Kane collection. Vel. (XII C.), 196ff. Written in England. Coat-of-arms of Marquis de Vauvillars, Clermont (Tonnerre.) Contains also Augustine. From the library of Rev. Henry Drury. Obtained from Voynich.

Expositio in Ev. S. Lucae. New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. Vel. (XII C.), 138ff. Written in France. From the Cistercian monastery of Ste. Marie de Trois Fontaines (Vitry) and the libraries of George Dunn and Sir Thomas Phillips (No. 9792).

De Isac et Anima, de Bono Mortis et de Fuga Saeculi. Tuxedo Park, N.Y., Grenville Kane collection. Vel. (1434), 99ff. Written at Milan by Milo of the Carrara family at the request of Guylielmo de Casale, general of the Franciscan order. Obtained from Martini.

AUGUSTINE

De Civitate Dei. New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. Pap. (XV C.).

De Nativitate Domini. New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. See under Ambrose.

De Vita Christiana. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University. Pap. (XIV C.).

[1] *Philological Quarterly,* I (1922), 109.

[2] *Ibid.,* pp. 100 ff.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Homilia in I Johann. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University. Cf. Pease in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 21 (1910), 51-74.

Homiliae. Tuxedo Park, New York, N.Y., Grenville Kane collection. See under Ambrose.

BOETHIUS

De Arithmetica, De Musica, De Geometria. Tuxedo Park, N.Y., Grenville Kane collection. Vel. (XIV C.), 150 pp. Obtained in England.

De Consolatione. New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. (1393), 242ff. Written by Joannes de Francia. Was in Padua in 1476. From the library of Howell Wills, Balliol College.

De Consolatione. Chicago, Illinois, Art Institute. Vel. (XIV C.), 67 pp. Written in Florence. Obtained from Voynich. Was once bound with Horace, *Epistles.*

CAESAR

De Bello Gallico. Tuxedo Park, N.Y., Grenville Kane collection. Vel. (XV C.), 114ff. Written in North Italy. From the Didot library (Catal. June 1881, No. 52). Obtained from Voynich.

——Chicago, Ill., Armour Institute of Technology. Vel. (XV C.), 267ff. From the Piccolomini library, with the arms of Pope Pius II. Obtained from Voynich in 1920.

——New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. Pap. (XV C.). From the library of Sir Thomas Phillips (No. 16272).

CICERO

De Amicitia, De Senectute, Tusculanae Disputationes. New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. Vel. (XV C.), 116ff. Note on fly-leaf: Milan 1/10/82.

Tusculanae Disputationes, Verrinae. New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. Vel. (XV C.), 129ff. From the library of Charles Thomas Stanford.

De Amicitia, Paradoxa, De Senectute. Philadelphia, Pa., William N. Bates collection. Vel. (XV C.), 87ff. Cf. *P.A.P.A.*, 1897, p. XLV.

De Oratore. Tuxedo Park, N.Y., Grenville Kane collection. Vel. (XV C.), 152ff. Written in Italy. Collated by Lagomarsini in 1749 and designated by him as No. 10. Obtained from Voynich.

De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione. Pittsburgh, Pa., Edward Duff Balken collection. Vel. (XV C.), 170ff. Written in Italy. From the Askew (No. 443) and Wodhull (London, 1886, No. 724) libraries. Obtained from Martini (Catal. XIII, No. 8).

Rhetorica. Tuxedo Park, N.Y., Grenville Kane collection. Vel. (XIV C.), 46ff. Probably written in Bologna about 1300. Bought from Voynich.

Tusculanae Disputationes. New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. Vel. (XV C.), 91ff. From the library of Jac. Francisci Arpini.

De Officiis. New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. Vel. (XIV C.), 48ff. From the libraries of Leonardus Boni quondam Ingherami and Sir Thomas Phillips (No. 16291).

Ad Herennium. New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. Pap. (XV C.), 94ff. From the library of Sir Thomas Phillips (No. 117).

De Senectute, De Amicitia, Paradoxa, Pro Marcello, Pro Ligario, Pro Deiotaro, Invectivae Sallusti et Ciceronis, De Officiis. Pittsburgh, Pa., Edward Duff Balken collection. Vel. (XV C.), 118ff. Written in Italy. From the libraries of St. Justina of Padua, and of Sir Thomas Phillips (No. 1628). Obtained from Martini.

CLAUDIANUS

Raptus Proserpinae. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University. Contains also Statius.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

CURTIUS RUFUS

——Tuxedo Park, N.Y., Grenville Kane collection. Vel. (XV C.), 152ff. Written in North Italy about 1450. Arms of Cardinal Ludovicus Podochatari on cover (1492-1504). From the library of Rev. Henry Drury. Obtained from Voynich.

DONATUS

Institutiones Grammaticae. New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. Vel. (XIV C.).

——New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. Vel. (XV C.). Written in Italy by Nicholaus Sextius.

EUTROPIUS

——Tuxedo Park, N.Y., Grenville Kane collection. Vel. (XIV-XV C.), 86ff. Written in North Italy. From the libraries of Sir Thomas Brooks, G. Libri (London, 1859, No. 353) and Sir Thomas Phillips (No. 16314). Obtained from Voynich.

FRONTINUS

Strategemata. Tuxedo Park, N.Y., Grenville Kane collection. Vel. (XV C.), 114ff. Obtained from Voynich.

HORACE

——Princeton, N.J., Princeton University. Vel. (1455), 90ff. From the library of George Dunn.

Ars Poetica. Princton, N.J., Princeton University. Vel.

——Princeton, N.J., Princeton University. Vel. (XV C.), 36ff. From the library of Sir Thomas Phillips (No. 9324).

——Princeton, N.J., Princeton University. Vel. (XV C.), 154ff.

Ars Poetica, Sermones. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University, Pap. (XV C.), 55ff.

ISIDORE

——Pittsburgh, Pa., Edward Duff Balken collection. Vel. (XIII C.), 258ff. Written in England, probably at St. Alban's. Formerly belonged to the Cistercian Abbey, Royaumont (Seine-et-Oise). From the Chardin and Phillips libraries. Obtained from Martini.

——New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. Vel. (XIII C.). From the monastery of Sancta Maria de Angelis, Florence, and the libraries of H. Drury and Sir Thomas Phillips (No. 3352). Obtained from Maggs Bros. (No. 163).

——New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. Vel. (XII C.), 48ff., incomplete. From the library of Sir Thomas Phillips (No. 2521).

JEROME

Contra Iovinianum. Pittsburgh, Pa., Edward Duff Balken collection. Vel. (XI C.), 101ff. Written in England.

JUSTINIAN

——Due West, S.C. Collection of Dr. Moffat. Vel. (XIII C.), 1f. Cf. *Studies in Philology* 17(1920), pp. 361-378.

Novellae. Chicago, Ill., University of Chicago. Vel. (XII C.). Written at Bologna.

JUSTINUS

——Tuxedo Park, N.Y., Grenville Kane collection. Vel. (XV C.), 115ff. Written shortly after 1400. Note on fly-leaf: *Volumen Jum. Bibliothecae Fr. Aloysii de Baronis Ord. Serv.*, 1748. From the Alan library. Obtained from Voynich.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

JUVENAL

——New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. Pap. (XV C.), 277 pp. Contains also Persius. From the libraries of Rev. Henry Drury and Sir Thomas Phillips (No. 3378). Obtained from Sotheby, June 9, 1898.

LIVY

——New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. Vel. (1461). From the libraries of Rev. Henry Drury and Sir Thomas Phillips (No. 6743).

LUCAN

——New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. From the library of Sir Thomas Phillips (No. 6447).

——New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. Vel. (XIV C.), 3ff. (contains part of Book V only). Inscription: *Hic liber est I. Martini Lucensis.*

NEPOS

——New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. (XV C.), 93ff.

OVID

Fasti. New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. Paper (XV C.), 96ff. Written at Sacile, Udine, Italy.

Sappho ad Phaonem. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University. Contains also Statius, *Achilleis* and Tibullus.

PERSIUS

——New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. Pap. (XV C.), 277 pp. Contains also Juvenal. From the libraries of Rev. Henry Drury and Sir Thomas Phillips (No. 3378). Obtained from Sotheby June 9, 1898.

PLINY

Epistolae. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University. Vel. (XV C.).

PRISCIAN

——New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. Vel. (XV C.), 244ff. Written in Italy.

QUINTILIAN

Declamationes. Tuxedo Park, N.Y., Grenville Kane collection. Vel. (1404), 130ff. Written at Venice by the priest Pietro Anzoto for Antonio Gritti. Binding by Charles Mearnes (XVII C.). From the library of Thomas Phillip Earl de Gray. Obtained from Martini.

SALLUST

Catilina, Jugurtha. Tuxedo Park, N.Y., Grenville Kane collection. Vel. (XV C.), 134ff. Written in Italy. Obtained from Harper.

Catilina. New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. Pap. (XV C.). Written in Germany.

Catilina, Jugurtha. New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. Vel. (XV C.), 110ff. From the libraries of Dr. Askew and Michael Wodhull.

SENECA

Declamationes. New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. (1392), 98ff. Written at Venice. Obtained from Olschki. Cf. *Bibliofilia* V, p.230.

Declamationes. Delaware, Ohio, Ohio Wesleyan University. Vel. (XIII C.), 234ff. Written in Bologna. Obtained from Voynich in 1920.

SENECA (*the Younger*)

Tragoediae. Tuxedo Park, N.Y., Grenville Kane collection. Vel. (XIV C.), 143ff. Written in Italy about the middle of the fourteenth century. Belonged to Andrea de Arnaldis. Obtained from Martini.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

SOLINUS

——New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. Vel. (XV C.), 96ff.

STATIUS

Achilleis. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University. Contains also Claudianus.
Achilleis. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University. Contains also Tibullus and Ovid's *Sappho ad Phaonem.*

SUETONIUS

De Duodecim Caesaribus. Tuxedo Park, N.Y., Grenville Kane collection. Vel. (1433), 168ff. Written by Milano Burro, probably in Florence. Binding shows device of Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari (1530-60). This is the manuscript included by de Ricci as being in the Robert Hoe sale. From the library of Guiniforti de la Croce. A duplicate of the volume written by the same scribe in 1443 is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (No. 162); cf. the catalogue of the McClean collection of Manuscripts by M.R. James, 1912.

TERENCE

——New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. Vel. (XV C.), 108ff. From the libraries of Dr. Askew and Michael Wodhull.
——Princeton, N.J., Princeton University. Vel. (XV C.). From the library of Sir Thomas Phillips (No. 4396).
——Princeton, N.J., Princeton University. (XV C.). From the library of Sir Thomas Phillips (No. 4398).
——Princeton, N.J., Princeton University. Vel. and pap. (1402), 166ff. Written at Padua (Pavia?) by Petrus Garin for Jean de Santanco.
——Tuxedo Park, N.Y., Grenville Kane collection. Pap. (1450), 126ff. Written by Felix Hegnower of Baden in Ergowea, Bachelor of Arts of Vienna. Obtained from Martini.

TIBULLUS

——Princeton, N.J., Princeton University. Contains also Statius' *Achilleis,* and Ovid's *Sappho ad Phaonem.*

VALERIUS MAXIMUS

——Princeton, N.J., A. Gufot Cameron collection. Pap. (XV C.). Written in Germany. Formerly belonged to Matthew of Weinsperg in Anspach. Obtained from Voynich.

VIRGIL

——The two Garrett MSS mentioned by de Ricci are now deposited in Princeton University.
Bucolica, Aeneis, Georgica. Tuxedo Park, N.Y., Grenville Kane collection. Vel. (XV C.), 196ff. Written in North Italy. From the library of George John Warren, fifth Baron Vernon. Obtained from Harper.
Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis. Stanford University, Calif., H.E. Fairclough collection. Vel. (XII-XIII C.), 178ff. Written in Italy. Given to Mr. Fairclough by a former student, Joseph Jarnick, who probably obtained it in New York.
——Princeton, N.J., Princeton University. Vel. (XV C.), 210ff. From the Osterley Park collection of the Earl of Jersey.
——Baltimore, M.D., Robert Garrett collection. Vel. (XV C.), 254ff. D' Este coat-of-arms. Obtained from Voynich in 1924.
Aeneis. New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. Vel. (XV C.), 183ff.
——Philadelphia, Pa., John F. Lewis collection. Vel. (XIV C.). Obtained from Voynich.
Bucolica, Georgica. New York, N.Y., G.A. Plimpton collection. Vel. (XV C.), 51ff. From the library of Sir Thomas Phillips, (No. 921).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

HOSPITALS [DURING THE REVOLUTION]: AN UNPUBLISHED ESSAY BY J. HECTOR ST. JOHN DE CREVECOEUR

Edited by H. L. Bourdin and S. T. Williams
Yale University

American literature of the eighteenth century is distinguished, in spite of apparent sterility, not merely for the two thinkers and writers of world-fame, Jonathan Edwards and Benjamin Franklin, but also for the curious and rare voyagers in literature, who even now, as we become more conscious of our literary past, are enjoying revival. Of these none is more curious or more rare than St. John de Crèvecoeur, known to every student of American literature as "The American Farmer." His *Letters from an American Farmer*, appearing first in London in 1782, have become an integral and unique part of American literature. Modern editors have made his story familiar: he was born in Caen in 1735; he came to America in 1759 or 1760. For a score of years he lived in pioneer America, farming, travelling through the colonies, but, above all, observing with the eyes of a deeply thoughtful man, the beginnings of the young republic. In some respects as a recorder of what he saw, he is inaccurate and untrustworthy, but in other ways his study of America is irreplaceable. He writes of ploughs, mosquitoes, bees, fences, and the life of the farm as only a genuine actor in these scenes could write. More important Crèvecoeur not only observed what was happening; he felt and sympathized with the political and religious confusion of the age. Sometimes he seems an epitome of, not the conventional patriot of the schoolbooks, but of the real pioneer caught amid old custom and old loyalties to England, and the ruin which followed in the train of the Revolution.

A new volume of essays by Crèvecoeur reveals him in this light.[1] They are the result of the discovery (by H. L. Bourdin) in 1922 of other unpublished manuscripts designed apparently to be a sequel to the *Letters from an American Farmer*. Among the impressions of Crèvecoeur which may be derived from this book, some old, some

[1] *Sketches of Eighteenth Century America*, Edited by H.L. Bourdin, R.H. Gabriel, and S.T. Williams, Yale University Press, 1925

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

strikingly new, none is perhaps more interesting than his attitude towards the whirlwind of the American Revolution. It is indeed his essay in the first published volume, "What is an American?" which is still widely quoted. The interest of this essay subjoined is connected with the same theme. Crèvecoeur is describing, as he writes during the Revolution, an episode which moved him to that eloquence and over-emotional style which was also characteristic. Though not discussed here, the reader may study with interest the curious effect on this Frenchman, living in America, of his environment in respect to spelling, punctuation, and diction. These are here retained as in the original manuscript.

HOSPITALS

Where[2] is the Man who can enter the Doors of a Military Hospital without bemoaning the calamities of war and regretting that so bitter an Ingredient shou'd have been mixed in the cup of Mortals already so Impregnated with so many Poysonous Particles. It allways Inspires me[3] with a Singular Medley of thoughts which I dare not delienate. My feeble and unenlighten'd mind cannot reconcile the Evils occasioned by war with that degree of happiness which one wou'd Imagine shou'd be the Lott of creatures, or else why created? The Melancholy scenes exhibited in those Hospitals is I think more disgusting than those of a field of Battle. The generous Spirit is fled from whence the body action and Life, tis gone along with the gushing blood; there the wounded as yet flushed with the remains of anterior health feels it without that Languor that despondency which soon succeed, the bold the undaunted Soldier often leaves on the field that fortitude which was his support, in the Hospital the consuming fever, the repeated Eaches covers his soul with a degree of Pusallinimity to which he had hitherto been a stranger. He groans, he cries, he feels a thousand wants which are & must be relieved, he in vain call for that Tenderness, that care, that vigilance of attention, that Indulgence which he thinks he might have received in his native Soyl, among his Kindred, but now in a for-

[2] A translation of this essay appears in Crèvecoeur's *Lettres d'un Cultivateur Américain.*

[3] The story and the letter in this essay are not records of Crèvecoeur's personal experience. It was his habit often to relate in the first person events made known to him from various sources.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

eign clime among persons rendered callous by the repetition of complaints, solitary abandonned to himself, distracted with sleepless nights & Tedious days, he repines at his fate & often wishes he had never been born. Behold him stretch'd on a truss of straw, hardly sheltered from the air often devoured with a variety of Insects which he cannot repell, every sense afflicted, every sensation converted into pains often unrelieved allways unpitied. Sad state for generous bold Men who have adventured their all in a cause which crowns with triumph, wealth, Laurels, wealth, power the great Rulers whom they obeyed; their all was their limbs, their health, their lifes.—What is become now of the pleasing effects of the exhilerating cup, of the cheering Invitation of the Capt., of the Pathetick speech of the commander; those combined Motives, those springs so powerfully wound up, that national spurr which urged him on to death & Danger; those fascinations exist no more & have no kind of effect in the hospital. Tis often no longer the soldier you contemplate in those beds of sickness, no longer the Intrepid warrior, no, tis the Man of sorrow & affliction, destitute of all those props which upheld him in Tedious Marches, bloody encounters, 'tis now the sickly maimed being deprived of that health, that exuburancy of spirit which health confer'd on him. He is alas no longer usefull to the state, his presence no longer the same portion of victuals cloaths &c. he is delegated to a new set of agents harden'd by the repetition of Evil who sees him not with that manly tenderness, that humanity which shou'd be the reward of his past Toyls & dangers, no longer usefull & therefore often neglected. Methink that those highly celebrated refinements of Modern humanity for which the European Nations are become so conspicuous in war & which seems so Singularly to decorate this Philosophick age, shou'd be more remarkable in the gov't of Hospitals, in the provision care & attendance which is so necessarily due to the sick & wounded soldiers, victims of our Misguided politicks & frantick Rage.—Tis there that the Generosity of a state shou'd become most conspicuous; tis the least compensation that can be made to those faithful subjects who have so generously contributed to its aggrandisement, tranquility or splendor. Tis there that the combined arts of surgery, Physick & Comfort shou'd be lavished to efface in the soldier every suspicion of Neglect, & Induce him to return to the Toyls of the Firelock, with the same wonted alacrity. Tis there that the duty of christian Pastors, skillfull & attentive Phy-

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

sicians, Tender nurses shou'd evince the benign Intentions of Gov't; it shou'd Exhibit itself in the goodness of the Drugs, cleanness of habitations, the warmth of beds, ponctuality of attendance, in the artificial salubrity of the air, when they can no longer Inhale the purer Draughts of the atmosphere.—How cheerfully wou'd I pay any additional Tax, coud I be secure that the whole sum shou'd be employed for the relief of these poor people.—without any fraud of agency, without the malversations of contractors, Monopolisers directors & other inferior agents; how happy shou'd I be to see those unfortunate Men become sensible in their scituation that everything is done for them that can possible relieve & comfort them; & to hear the soft accents of their gratitude, mix themselves with the more acute ones of their Pains & sufferings, the least rewards we owe to those Members of society who have for so small a consideration exposed themselves to the Inclemency of seasons to the fire of Musketry to the keen edge of the Sabre to the attack of those weapons which Man's evil genius Invented for the destruction of his race.—To look at the establishment of our Hospitals every thing seems ordered with care & Method, they are in appearance well supplyed with every article that is Necessary & with every convenience which may be require, Numbers of Physicians & Doctors are appointed to attend the sick, this theory is excellent but when you come to examine them with a close attention you'll generally find that carelessness, inattention, a number of mates & inexperienced youths substituted & doing the duty of the more experienced ones, who indulge themselves in all the Ease & relaxation which their pay & perquisite can afford them. Their duty is transferred to other hands and many of the sick fall victims to the Bungling attendance of Ignorance & Conceit. The Nurses are generally the worst sort of women who having no other motive of action but to live receive as much as they can do & do as little duty as they can; who can watch & pervade every corner of so Extensive a field; they are often addicted to drinking & Instead of watchings at Night & supplying the wants of the Sick, they sleep & Snoar perfectly unconcerned at all the groans & misery which surround them. There is one Instance for which the Roman Catholic Relligion[4] is remarkable, it is for that singular charity which is displayed in those Hospitals which are attended

[4] Crèvecoeur's long introduction is characteristic. These observations on religion should be compared with those in *Letters from an American Farmer*, and *Sketches of Eighteenth Century America*.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

by Nuns. It is astonishing to see the Tenderness & benevolence with which they are Inspired—what Zeal must be that which Leads them to devote themselves to the Relief of the Sick equally Intent on the recovery of their bodys as well as the preservation of their souls, tis angelick tis worthy the divine crown to which they aspire, thus to devote & consecrate the most pretious part of their Lives, the flowery days of their youth to the disgusting employment of attending, cleansing Loathsome carcasses, Putrid wounds, offensive ulcers & to submitt cheerfully to that train of disgustful circumstances necessarily attending the discharge of so complicated a duty—how admirable how useful to the sick must that softness of treatment be, how much happier than those who are attended by Rough unfeeling women, who are strangers to so noble a principle of action. What a singular and happy effect must result from their pious care, their Incessant attendence their unweared Zeal, their Neatness; the very harmony of their voices as well as the beauty of some of their countenances must Lead to health & recovery. How must a poor wretch feel hitherto unnoticed & unknown who finds in this asilum all that Christian charity can confer. This is converting relligion to the most usefull purposes, this is extracting from it a species of heroism which tho' obscure & unnoticed yet is far superior to any degree of charity I know of in Civil society. This is the country where I shou'd think those Institutions are wanted, tho unfortunately 'tis Incompatible with the spirit of Modern Protestantism. What then is it that can be Incompatible with the spirit of Modern Protestantism. What then is it that can be Incompatible with so pious so usefull an establishment? Tis a simplified Sistem of christianity less supercharged with that Multiplicity of ceremonies & other human devices but as the original sistem was founded on Love & charity, how can any Institutions so replete with those eminent virtues be Inconsistent with the new amendment. Look at all our Province Hospitals & compare them with those at Montreal & Quebeck,[5] that of Philadelphia excepted which devised & established by the patronage of the Quakers may be truelly said to be the cleanest & best attended of any in N.Am. & perhaps equal to any in Christiandom; Tell me whether they exhibit & affords that Neatness, those conveniences that Regular attendance without which they are but Imperfect Institutions. Our Military ones are still worse, hence that waste, that great waste which sweeps thousands away. Do you see

[5] It is now an established fact that Crèvecoeur was in Canada in 1759.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

truly Christian pastors, animated with the proper Zeal of their founctions, do you see them attend & relieve the sick, alas it is on the bed of sickness, in those hours of languor & despondency that Relligion becomes truely Serviceable when all human Succours fail, the pleasing Perspective it holds are the only consolation of the sick & the dying; do we see the pastors admonish them at the approaches of Death, Leading some to repentance & contrition, in others assuage by their Lectures & Exhortations the acrimony of their scituation, repelling despair in some, raising confidence in others; how usefull that great circle of Pastoral founctions when properly discharged. Most of the poor soldiers in all hospitals die as they have lived unpitied & unregarded.

I meet with Dr. ———— sometime ago who related to me with singular pleasure a very extraordinary Instance of Gratitude he had met with. As it has some connection with this subject, I shall subjoin it to my Letter,

Some business having called him to ———, he went to View the Hospital which was filled with sick soldiers, he observed with satisfaction that there was nothing Epidemical amongst them, but only such disorders as often proceed from fatigue & Intemperance. As he was coming out a Soldier whose countenance had something striking in it, call him to his bed side; "Woud you Sir take a Soldier's word & believe what I am going to Tell you; my Time is almost Expired, I earnestly want to return home, having heard of the Death of my Brother; I have found out a man who is willing to replace me in the Regiment, my father is a person of considerable substance in the Province of .....[6], wou'd you think it unsafe, sir, to advance 100 Dollars with which sum I can accomplish everything I desire, pay the Main bounty, get out of this Hospital & either send or go home myself; you may be surprised that a stranger & a soldier should make you such a request but every one here are equally Strangers to me. Winter is approaching & I earnestly cou'd wish to quit this ere the Snow falls at present I have it not in my power even to hire a man to Inform my father of my disagreeable scituation."

Struck with this bold but honnest Request, I attentively examine every feature & Lineament of his countenance, I was sure he was an honnest Man, I have seldom been deceived in my study of Phygsionomys—I advanced him the sum he wanted, I thought for a while

[6] In the translation: "Virginia."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

that this sudden generosity woud have deprived him of Life, he almost fainted, he cryed, & for a long while he cou'd not speak, he was as yet weak, & not entirely recovered, he seemed overjoyed even beyond the power of his nerves to bear, he bathed my hands with Tears. Soon after he found out my place of abode, where he came to see me and I found with pleasure that he was what I had thought him to be, a young Man of Good parts & education. He Informed me very circumstially with his father's circumstances & repeated the assurance of my being soon reimbursed. I value more the true accents of gratitude than the amount of the benefits conferred, they are so rare, it is a Virtue that add so much to the dignity of human nature, it is a petious Gem which deserves like all other Gems to be preserved with care & attention. About 5 weeks after this I received a letter from his Father, Mother & uncle. I send you a copy of it, pray, let me know your thoughts & Tell me Ingeniously what It is proper I should do, if I accept every part of this astonishing Return I shall be look'd upon as a Mercenary man who *obliged* with the view of Improving what I have advanced, if I entirely refuse I may be accused of Pride, I Know not what to do. To go among perfect Strangers & dwell & Live with them by Means of this Singular adoption will set the world a gasping & exposing myself to the Severest of its censure. I am really at a loss.

Copy of the Letter

Sir

The First Reward of a Generous action most certainly consists in the Balmy remembrance of it; the pleasing consciousness of having relieved never fails amply to repay the wages of the Doer; this is Vulgarly the excuse of those who think it needless to unite the returns of the most Justly due Gratitude to the utterance of the above sentiments. I had 2 sons one has been swallow'd in the Gulph of those unfortunate Times, the other was very Nigh following the Same Path & you have redeemed him, you have procured him the means of returning home to his disconsolate Parents already oppressed by the death of the first, doubly so at the Time of his arrival by the report which had prevailed of his having been killed. But for your extreme kindness the Latter end of our days must have been devoted to the sorrow & affliction of being childless in our old age after having so long Prided ourselves in the cheerful company & assistance of Two well born, well disposed young men. What was

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

it that Induced you to do this generous action & to select him from among so many others equally deserving your attention & Bounty? I most Humbly thank that Invisible hand which Secretly Led you to his Bed, & persuaded you to listen to his request & believe his assertions. The day which you Relieved him, he informs me, was the 14th of Oct. that day shall henceforth be a day of general rejoicing in our family, Marked by the most fervent prayers to the Allmighty by a suspension of Labour, it shall from hence be distinguished above all other days in the year. My Slaves shall partake of the Joy Inspired by the pleasing Remembrance, they too, poor souls, are sensible of it & in their Rough accents enter for something in this general family gratitude. Disdain not their Mite, for they too are Men, because I have allways treated them as such. Is it possible? Have you really restaured my son, my only son, to health, to freedom, and to his parents, & are these the accumulated benefits we owe you? Happily the young man has many friends & Relations or else it would be too great a Burden for him to bear. I am informed, Sir, that you never was a father, you never can Tell therefore my Joys; my Paternal feelings can never enter into your Imagination. There are a Set of pleasures & Pains attending that scituation which nature hides from those to whom she has given no Progeny. I am a Stranger to you but good & Virtuous Men are friends wherever they meet, henceforth Look on me as such, it shall be my constant study to deserve the Noble Appellation. By the Impulse of Nature I am my son's father, you Sir his adoptive one given him by Providence in the hour of sickness & abandonment, we therefore are Brothers, & I devoutly pray that nothing can possibly dissolve so Holy an Union, Come then & Join with us—in the possession & enjoyment of all we have, we have Incorporated you in our Family come & take possession of that chair which awaits you at our Table. My wife—but who can express the sorrow, the affliction, the Joys the various degrees of Sensibility felt by a woman & a mother, It is by her own words, it is by the honnest squeese of her hands, it is by the Channell of her Tears, her Smiles alone, you can properly receive the Burthen of her Gratitude in all the Energy of female affection & Sincerity. Not only our family, but the whole Neighborhood, to whom your name is become dear, shall receive you as you deserve & convince you that there are still Men who have not lost in the calluosity of Civil war those Sentiments which ever distinguish Good men. To convince you that these are not airy, trifling

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

words Inspired by a Gust of sudden Joy, by an Involuntary Exuberancy of Sentiment which are soon evaporated & forgot, tribute often Paid either to the vanity of the Mind or the Pride of the heart, to convince you that the Impressions made on us by your extreme generosity are as lasting as the benefit conferred, the Bearer hereof, who is the son of my Brother will deliver you an authentick Deed for the Equal half of ——— Plantation accompanied with a Negro from me another from my son another from my wife, & mother, & one from Each of my Brothers, The deed as well as the different Bills of sales are all as you may see by the Endorsement properly witnessed & recorded; the whole is Irrevocably yours, Happy if our Soyl, our Govt, our climate can possibly Induce you to make choice of our country for the Place of your residence, Unite then your own fortune to this trifling gift & come & live among us where your profession, your Talents, your Merit, & the sweet flavour of your benevolence & humanity already well known will, we hope, procure you every advantage which can flow from the friendship & esteem of a numerous & grateful family united with the Esteem of an Enlightened set of people. May God send this Messanger safe unto you & bring you Equally safe to our arms.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

SHAKESPEARE'S SHARE IN *TITUS ANDRONICUS*

By Henry David Gray
Stanford University

I have several times concerned myself with the problem of *Titus Andronicus*, contending that the play was Shakespeare's earliest work and that it was rewritten by Greene and Peele;[1] that it is more natural to suppose that an untried author should have his work subjected to revision than that he should be entrusted with the task of revising a play by the leading dramatists of the time;[2] and that the external evidence pointed in this same direction.[3] But I was forced to admit that the double ending test did not altogether uphold my theory, and that I had "not been able to satisfy myself at every point." I had supposed that my case was supported by the fact that *Titus Andronicus* was acted by Pembroke's men, since "a play which Shakespeare *revised* would presumably be acted by the company with which he was associated; whereas a play which he had originally written, if taken over by another company, would naturally be revised by the authors who worked for that company."[4] But Professor Adams in his *Life of William Shakespeare* has now shown that Shakespeare himself may have been with the Pembroke company at this time. I have therefore reexamined the play to see whether Shakespeare could have been responsible for the revision which was "new," according to Henslowe, on Jan. 23, 1593/4; and I have come to the conclusion that this offers a much better explanation of the facts than I found in my former hypothesis. I therefore definitely withdraw my former theory.

Let us begin with the double ending test, which did not entirely fit in with my previous division of the play. I do not say that an author's practice elsewhere is proof that his practice was the same in a play which is under dispute; but when one writer employs a high percentage of double endings and another a very low percent-

[1] "The Authorship of *Titus Andronicus*," *Flügel Memorial Volume*.
[2] "*Titus Andronicus* Once More," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXIV (1919), 214.
[3] "The *Titus Andronicus* Problem," *Stud. Phil.*, XVII (1920), 126.
[4] "Postscript," *M.L.N.*, XXXIV (1919), 247.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

age, there is a strong presumption upon which to work. Greene never and Peele scarcely ever rises above 3 per cent of such endings; and these are the men whose work has been traced in other parts of *Titus*.[5] While Shakespeare has a low percentage at times, he alone of these men rises elsewhere to the very high percentage which we find in certain scenes of the play we are considering. Act V, scene i, contains 17 per cent; and this alone is one argument for Shakespeare's authorship of it.

The scene shows Lucius returning with his avenging army, and contains the boastful confession of the villain, Aaron. In this scene Aaron is vividly drawn, and many critics have regarded him as a Shakespearean creation. Collins and other have referred to this scene as peculiarly characteristic of Shakespeare, and I can find no reason for doubting his authorship of it.

The same vivid characterization of Aaron occurs in IV, ii, where he receives his baby from the Nurse. Though there are traces in this scene of the earlier drama, including some of Greene's characteristic words pointed out by Grosart,[6] its 11 per cent of double endings is significant. The first part does not read, to me, like Shakespeare's work; but if we consider that the characterization of Aaron as we find him in V, i, was what interested Shakespeare, we shall perhaps agree that where this particular characterization occurs the lines have a more Shakespearean ring. In the first 50 lines, to the entrance of the Nurse, we have for the most part studiedly regular verse with two lines of Latin and the "for to" in l. 44; but 6 double endings—12 per cent. Fifty lines do not ordinarily furnish a fair basis for judgment, but in the case of Greene 6 such endings within so small a space cannot be passed by without comment. All but one, however, occur in the speeches of Aaron; and it is quite like Shakespeare's Aaron to say,

> Ay, just, a verse in Horace; right, you have it.
> [*Aside*] Now, what a thing it is to be an ass!

The 20 lines after the Nurse's entrance are Shakespearean enough; and from line 97 on the character of Aaron is consistently and strikingly drawn. Our difficulties disappear if we consider that these additions make Shakespeare's contribution to the scene.

[5] See especially Robertson's *Did Shakespeare Write Titus Andronicus?* Kyd and Marlowe have also been suggested. My argument would apply also to either of these highly improbable candidates.

[6] *Englische Studien*, XXII (1896), 417.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The love of the empress Tamora for Aaron has been prepared for in the opening lines of scenes i and ii of Act II. Both passages have been claimed for Shakespeare by some critics. II, i, 10-42, would not, I think, arouse the least suspicion if they occurred in a genuine Shakespearean play; and patchwork may be indicated, at l. 9, as Professor Parrott suggests.[7] But the double ending test does not help us here. On the other hand, II, iii, 10-50, with 12 per cent of double endings, can scarcely be set aside. Mr. Arthur Symons, who rejects the former passage, says that this is Shakespeare's if anything in the play is his.[8] Later in this scene we have Lavinia's plea for mercy before she is dragged away by Tamora's sons to be ravished. It is the one redeeming feature of this ghastly incident. That lines 136-186 are Shakespeare's I think as obvious as anything could be, and it is with satisfaction that I record the 20 per cent of double endings. The rest of the scene in question, with these two passages omitted, drops to 7 per cent; and though this seems too high for Greene or Peele, it is not too far beyond the range of the latter to be his. Though it may well be that Shakespeare touched the scene here and there, since it is one of the scenes where we find him at work, I can find no clear evidences of his hand, and we may safely regard his further contribution to it as negligible.

Mr. Symons speaks of Titus's "magnificent lunacy" as especially characteristic of Shakespeare in this drama. The madness of Titus, like all the main features of the play, seems to belong to the original version, since it is touched upon in passages which there is no faintest reason for assigning to Shakespeare. But in revising the play of *Titus Andronicus* it would be strange if Shakespeare had paid no attention to the central character; and it is of course the development of Titus's malady which would give him his chief opportunity. In III, i, we have the first stage in this madness; but though I agree with Parrott that the scene is composite, I find it extremely difficult to divide. The parts which seem most Shakesperean to me are lines 82-135 and 207-218; but these passages, with their 14 per cent of double endings, leaving 4.6 per cent for the rest of the scene, are intimately connected with the lines which follow, and I can find no striking contrast in style to set off the

[7] *Mod. Lang. Review*, XIV (1919), 16-37.

[8] Introd. to Facsimile of the 1600 quarto.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

exact limit of Shakespeare's share. So while I do not feel warranted in assigning to Shakespeare more than these two passages, I disclaim any assumption that they give his exact contribution to the scene. An instance of the peculiar difficulty of the problem is to be found in the last 50 lines. Collins picked 250-253 as a Shakespearean touch, and one would naturally assign to Shakespeare Titus's cry of anguish,

When will this fearful slumber have an end?

Here, at the center of the third act comes the climax of the play: Titus's measure of grief is now full, and Lucius goes forth to raise the avenging army. All this is thoroughly Shakespearean. Yet Marcus replies definitely to the line of Titus which I quoted, and with no perceptible change in the meter the author goes on to arrange that mawkishly grotesque exit in which Marcus carries the head of one of Titus's sons, Titus in his remaining hand carries the other head, while Lavinia, with both hands cut off and tongue cut out, carries Titus's severed hand in her teeth! This, as Grosart says, is "greatly after Greene's fantastic genius"; and the absence of double endings for 70 lines previous leaves the way clear for him. If Greene and Peele revised Shakespeare, as I once contended, this among other difficulties would disappear; but I do not now maintain that theory.

The following scene, in which Marcus kills the fly, is the only one which Fleay thought might be Shakespeare's. Its whole interest lies in the behavior of Titus, and there seems no definite reason to doubt that he revised it. It has 9 per cent of double endings.

The next scene, IV, i, in which Lavinia writes her secret in the sand with a staff held in her teeth and guided by her stumps of arms, is utterly unlike Shakespeare, and contains, appropriately to our hypothesis, only 1.5 per cent of double endings.

Swinburne assigned IV, iii and iv, to Shakespeare, and the double ending percentage bears him out, though it is here less high than elsewhere. How Titus with one hand cut off shoots an arrow into the emperor's palace is not apparent; and, indeed, the first part of IV, iii, contains strong indications of work that is not Shakespeare's. But the culmination of Titus's madness is reached in this scene, and the Clown has the Shakespearean touch:

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Tit. Why, didst thou not come from heaven?
Clo. From heaven! alas, Sir, I never came from there: God forbid I should be so bold to press to heaven in my young days.

Scene iv seems to me Shakespeare's, and I am glad to find myself in agreement with Professor Parrott. The flexibility of the verse, with its abundance of run-on lines, strengthens here the inconclusive evidence of 6 per cent of double endings.

In V, ii, Tamora, impersonating Revenge, with her sons impersonating Rapine and Murder, comes to Titus to secure his mediation with Lucius; and this antique business seems to belong to the old play. But at line 21 begins the only passage which Coleridge would allow to Shakespeare, and others have found Shakesperean touches in this scene. There are 5.8 per cent of double endings, but there is not the flexible verse with a high percentage of run-on lines that we find in IV, iv. The concluding incident of grotesque horror shows no trace of Shakespeare that I can find; and though I presume that he touched the scene here and there, I think it should be regarded as substantially not his.

Lines 26-34 and 53-66 in the final scene of the play work out in the same manner this disgusting episode of the human pie, followed by a tit-for-tat slaughter of three leading characters; and here again there is no sign of Shakespeare. But all the rest of the scene, with its 12 per cent of double endings, seems to me quite in Shakespeare's manner. We have a glimpse of Aaron as Shakespeare drew him; we have Titus, restored, in a final moment of nobility; and we have the same sort of adjustment of the situation at the end of the drama as Shakespeare was later to employ in rounding out his tragedies.

If now we will look through the play for additional evidences of Shakespeare, we shall find them scant indeed. Through Act I and scenes i and ii of Act II the percentage of double endings remains at two and a fraction, and the verse is correspondingly mechanical. The first and final portions of the first act are so far superior to the central portion that I was once disposed to regard them as Shakespeare's at the start of his dramatic career; and even yet I look with covetousness at lines 104-126 and 411-476. In the former passage Tamora gives a mother's appeal for mercy when her son is condemned and Titus justifies, so far as it is possible, his barbaric decision. In the latter Bassianus humanizes and elevates his otherwhere melodramatic conduct, and Tamora shows all a woman's

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

subtlety. But we must not be guilty of that mere partisanship from which we so often tend to give to Shakespeare whatever pleases us and throw to his collaborators whatever seems less excellent. It must be remembered that Greene and Peele were dramatists of high distinction. When an Anglo-Saxon poet writes of the sea his poetic excellence almost invariably rises; and these are passages which would inevitably lift the tone of the dialogue. So without more positive evidence of Shakespeare's hand, we are not warranted, I think, in separating from the original version such passages as these, or others of equal excellence.

The passages I have picked out as substantially Shakespeare's amount to somewhat less than 1000 lines, with 11.5 per cent of double endings. The rest of the play, reaching over 1500 lines, has 2.9 per cent. Moreover, and this I consider of the highest importance, it is in the passages of low percentage and there only that we find all the revolting incidents, the primitive dramatic technique, and the crude characterization. In the passages of higher percentage we have the deeply moving appeal of Lavinia, the "glorious lunacy" of Titus, the vivid characterization of Aaron, the humor, the confession and punishment of the villain, and the rounding out of the tragedy with its "restoration of the moral order" at the end. This was surely a sufficient contribution to the piece to warrant its inclusion in the Folio.

But why—assuming that this was Shakespeare's share—why did he leave the episodes which give us so much revulsion as we read the play to-day? Because he was not employed to rob the play of any elements which would give it a popular appeal, and there can be little doubt that it was upon the sensational element in *Titus Andronicus* that its success chiefly depended.

When we read this drama it is natural enough that the mood induced in us by its disgusting incidents and its brutality should carry over into the better portions of the play. Moreover, the mechanical verse which extends to scene iii of Act II establishes in our minds a rhythmical swing into which the verse naturally continues to fall. It is only when we examine the Shakespearean portions of *Titus Andronicus* separately with Shakespeare in mind and read them along with the added portions of *Henry VI* that we find them like him and worthy of him; and the danger then lies in our taking over too much instead of too little. In a play so intricately woven as *Titus Andronicus*, where occasional touches of

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Shakespeare may adorn scenes for the most part not his, or where he may incorporate bits of the older drama in scenes where he is revising most thoroughly, it is impossible to be exact. But I believe that in this case the extreme difference between Shakespeare's practice and that of Greene and Peele in the use of double endings does enable us to come fairly close to the extent and the method of Shakespeare's revision of this popular tragedy of horror.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

BRIEF ARTICLES AND NOTES

ALOUD, LOUD, AND *OUT LOUD.*

Under *aloud,* the *Century Dictionary* gives as one definition, "With the natural tone of voice as distinguished from whispering." The *Standard Dictionary* gives equivalent definitions: "(1) With ordinary strength of voice; audibly; opposed to *in a whisper.* (3) Using the voice; out loud; opposed to *silently;* as, Did you read aloud?"

These definitions are adequate and give probably the commonest meaning of *aloud* in current use. Equivalent definitions are, however, quite lacking in the *Oxford* and *Webster's New International* dictionaries. For *aloud* the *Oxford* has only, "In a loud voice; with great noise; loudly." Yet under this is quoted: "1767 Fordyce, One of the Company would often read aloud," in which *aloud* obviously has the meaning, "vocally," not "loudly." Furthermore, *s.v. read,* 11, the *Oxford* has, "to utter aloud, to render in speech," with the note, "*To read aloud* is frequently used to distinguish this sense of the word from 5 ['to peruse without uttering in speech']." Under the second verb *think,* B 3, occurs the note, "*To think aloud*: to express one's thoughts by audible speech as they pass through the mind." Though this definition strictly would include whispering, it probably is not so intended.

Identical with that of the *Oxford* is the definition of *aloud* in the *International,* except that the latter adds "audibly." But "audibly" applies as well to whispered as to vocal utterance, as is indicated by the *International's* definition of *audible*: "Capable of being heard; as, an audible voice or whisper." Like the *Oxford,* however, the *International* uses *aloud* in definitions in the sense of "vocally"; e.g., *s.v. read, aloud* meaning "vocally" occurs at least four times, and *s.v. whisper,* n., occurs the expression, "In whispering, as opposed to speaking aloud,"—an expression apparently taken from Sweet (cf. his *Primer of Phonetics,* p. 10).

The present-day common meaning of *aloud* = "vocally" occurs at least four times in Shakspere: *Much Ado,* II, i, 108, "I say my prayers aloud"; *Tw. Night,* II, v, 94, "The spirit of humours

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

intimate reading aloud to him!" *Rom. and Jul.*, II, ii, 161, "Bondage is hoarse and may not speak aloud"; *Cymb.*, I, vi, 26, "So far I read aloud." It seems likely that this is the sense, used figuratively, in *Oth.*, II, i, 5, "Methinks the wind hath spoke aloud at land." Here apparently the image is contrasted with such as those of the wind sighing, breathing, murmuring, etc., found in Shakspere and contemporary poets.[1]

This sense of *aloud* is virtually the sole one in current speech and familiar writing, the sense "loudly" being confined to poetry or elevated and formal prose.

The effort to find an adjective meaning "vocal" with the stem of the adverb *aloud* is shown by an example quoted in the *Oxford s.v. aloud* as "doubtfully attributive: 1806 W. Taylor, The only serious poem that is resorted to for aloud reading." Sweet uses *loud* in the same way (*Primer*, p. 11): "the consonant remaining breathed as in loud speech"; (*The Sounds of English*, §50): "Whispered vowels occur as integral parts of loud speech." Another attempt is seen in *out-loud* in adjective use, mentioned in the following.

The *Oxford* is the only dictionary mentioned that records the phrase *out loud* in its vocabulary, and that only in the hyphened form: "Out-loud. The phrase (*read*) *out loud* sometimes hyphened; esp. [when] *attrib*: 1844 L. Hunt, In reading out-loud; 1899 Spectator, [The] book . . . deserves a solemn out-loud reading." But neither the *Oxford* nor the others record *out loud* in the vocabulary as a phrase, nor is its meaning noted under *out* or *loud;* yet it is obvious that *out loud* is a set phrase of current English with a distinct meaning different from the sum of its parts. *To read out loud* clearly no longer means "to read out, loudly"; in short, it is a fixed phrase, as Leigh Hunt already felt in 1844 when he hyphened it as an adverb; or in fact, if not in writing, it is a single word just as truly as *aloud*, from older *on loude*.

But though not recognizing *out loud* in the vocabulary, the *Oxford* uses the phrase unhyphened in the note to *out-loud* quoted above; and the *Standard* gives "out loud" as one definition of *aloud*. I note in Mrs. Asquith's *Autobiography*, "said our prayers out loud to each other" (I, 73), and "read them out loud" (I,

[1] The whispering wind, so common in later poets, does not appear in Shakspere or Spenser.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

74). She also uses the expression *read out aloud* (I, 80; II, 38), a cross between *out loud* and *aloud* not familiarly current in America, so far as I know.[2]

Hiram College

JOHN S. KENYON

TWO NOTES ON SHAKSPERE

I

As You Like It, II, i, 18 ff. (Fol.).

> Amien. I would not change it, happy is your Grace
> That can translate the stubornnesse of fortune
> Into so quiet and so sweet a stile.

On this Moberly remarks, "This is one of the interesting passages in which a great writer reflects upon his own expressions with pleasure or surprise." This comment is quoted by J. C. Smith, editor of the Arden edition of the play, who adds that Shakspere thus reflects once or twice upon his songs.

I believe these comments show entire misapprehension of Shakspere's metaphor. Amiens is not referring at all to the style of the Duke's language. The Duke is not said to be translating the stubbornness of fortune into words that have a quiet and sweet style; on the contrary, all the words of Amiens following the word *that* are included within his metaphor. In its application to Amiens's literal meaning, the quiet and sweet style is the quiet and contented life into which the Duke is able to transform the stubbornness of his fortunes. Amiens is not complimenting the Duke on his fine rhetoric, but on his sweet use of adversity.

Several leading editors transfer the words "I would not change it" to the end of the Duke's preceding speech. Furness defends the folio reading on the grounds that the Duke's question (II, i, 1 ff.) requires an answer, and that the words are not inappropriate to Amiens. But there are still more cogent reasons for retaining the original arrangement. Dyce and White argue that the Duke's speech is unfinished without the words; but just the opposite may be maintained. The theme, "Sweet are the uses of adversity," is illustrated by a number of concrete instances, ending, in true

[2] It is a fact of some curious interest that while *aloud* in the sense of "loudly" is common in Shakspere and his contemporaries, and in later poets, as Wordsworth and Shelley, in Tennyson (if the concordance may be trusted) neither *aloud* nor *loudly* occurs, his sole form for the adverb being *loud*.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Shakspere fashion, with a comprehensive generalization,—"and good in everything." That this is a common trait of the philosophizing speeches in Shakspere is abundantly illustrated both in this play and others; *e.g.*, by Adam's speech, II, iii, 2 ff.: note ll. 14-15; by Jaques' famous lines, ending in the same way,—"sans everything"; by Laertes' "Youth to itself rebels"; by Hamlet's "the dram of eale, etc."; by his "And thus the native hue of resolution, etc."; by Macbeth's "Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing, etc." Instances need not be multiplied.

But a more convincing proof lies in the spirit of the scene itself. When the exile is first mentioned, we are told, "Three or four loving lords have put themselves into voluntary exile with him," giving up their lands and revenues. The fine personal loyalty of the Duke's men forms an artistic background for that of Celia to the heroine, which Shakspere deliberately enhances by changing Lodge's banishment of Alinda to the voluntary exile of Celia; and the theme is further enriched in the play by the relations of Adam to Orlando, of Oliver to Orlando, and of Sir Rowland to the former Duke. The essence of the relation of the loving lords to the Duke could hardly be better condensed than in the words of Amiens, "I would not change it." Moreover, they are necessary to preclude an inevitably wrong implication of the words, "Happy is your Grace, etc." Without the preceding words, these would naturally imply, "I don't commit myself on the comforts of life in the woods, but it's fortunate that you can take so cheerful a view of it." The words, "I would not change it," fix the spirit of those that follow as expressing the eager accord of the Duke's loyal followers. To Dyce's remark that the opening words "must belong to the Duke," it can be answered with equal force that whoever does not see that they belong to Amiens is reading the passage with his intellect only, instead of feeling imaginatively the warmth of life in the scene.

II

Twelfth Night, III, iii, 36 f.

Antonio: For which, if I be lapsed in this place,
I shall pay dear.

For *lapsed* in this passage Schmidt gives the definition "surprised," "taken in the act," as he does also in the passage in *Hamlet,* III, iv, 106 ff:

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

> Do you not come your tardy son to chide,
> That, laps'd in time and passion, lets go by
> The important acting of your dread command?

But for the latter passage the editors have generally given up this interpretation, accepting, in substance, Dr. Johnson's comment, "Having suffered time to go by and passion to cool."

For Antonio's words, *if I be lapsed,* the *Oxford Dictionary* gives as doubtful and obsolete the meaning of *lapsed* as from the transitive verb *lapse,* "to pounce upon as an offender, to apprehend," suggesting a confusion with the noun *lap* in the phrase *to fall into the lap of* (*an enemy*), sometimes found also in the plural, *to fall into the laps of. Webster's New International* adopts the conjecture.

Even if the meaning "taken, apprehended," were demanded by the context, the evidence for its existence is found solely in this passage. I believe it is quite unnecessary to assume an exceptional meaning here. The verb seems to occur first in Shakspere, though the noun with corresponding sense occurs as early as 1526. The verbal noun *lapsing* appears first in Shakspere, though not recorded by the *Oxford* till 1663. The senses of all the examples of *lapse* in Shakspere are, I believe, virtually the same, namely, "fall, slip," in more or less figurative use. The word being then a recent borrowing, the sense is naturally near that of the Latin original. In two places the literal sense "fall, slip," is part of a passage the whole of which is figurative. In *All's Well,* II, iii, 170, the King, threatening to cast off Bertram if he refuses to marry Helena, says,

> Or I will throw thee from my care for ever
> Into the staggers and the careless lapse
> Of youth and ignorance.

Here the staggering and stumbling course of ignorant youth left to find its own way ("careless"; cf. "from my care") is contrasted with the steady course of one under guiding care. In *Coriolanus,* Menenius in declaring his loyalty to Coriolanus says,

> For I have ever magnified my friends,
> Of whom he's chief, with all the size that verity
> Would without lapsing suffer;

i.e., "all the largeness that truth could bear up under without falling." Schmidt and Onions (*Shakespeare Glossary*) are, I think, both wrong in saying that *lapse* here means "fall into sin by ly-

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ing." The whole image of "truth falling down" means "lying." or "exaggerating," but in the figure verity does not lie, it falls,—under too heavy a burden. In *Cymbeline,* III, vi, 12, *lapse* has a meaning that after Shakspere became very common, that of a moral fall or slip. Here also, though the application of the whole expression is to lying, *lapse* itself does not mean "lie." Here Imogen says,

> I could not miss my way: will poor folks lie? . . .
> Yes; no wonder,
> When rich ones scarce tell true. To lapse in fulness
> Is sorer than to lie for need.

The two remaining examples in Shakspere are the *Hamlet* passage explained above and that in *Twelfth Night.*

To arrive at the meaning of the last we must consider the forms and constructions of *lapse* in Shakspere. In *All's Well* quoted above, *lapse* is a verbal noun corresponding to an intransitive verb "fall, slip." In *Coriolanus, lapsing* is a verbal noun in *-ing* corresponding to the same verb. In *Cymbeline, to lapse* is the infinitive of the same verb. In *Hamlet, lapsed* is the past participle and means "having lapsed," or "being lapsed."

Another feature of the verb now requires attention. In older English certain intransitives form compound tenses with *be* instead of *have.* This is preserved in *he is gone* or in Lincoln's "we *are met* on a great battle-field." Other instances are:

Henry VIII, III, i, 86, Though he *be grown* so desperate.
Merch. of Ven., II, iv, 25, I'll be *gone* about it straight.
Troil. and Cres., V, ii, 156, The bonds of heaven *are slipp'd.*
K. Lear, IV, vi, 219, Her army *is moved on.*
2 Henry IV, I, i, 4, His Lordship *is walk'd forth* into the orchard.
Addison, *Spectator,* No. 122, the Court *was sat* before Sir Roger came.

Likewise the intransitive *lapse* was construed with *be,* as these examples in the *Oxford* show:

1654: the reedification of what *was lapsed.*
1691: man *is* deeply *lapsed and degenerated* from a state of excellency.
1702: sixteen years *will* this summer *be lapsed* since [= "will have lapsed"].
1726: Such benefices *are lapsed* unto the bishop.
1804: Those that *are lapsed* into some wounding sin.

In the foregoing cases the chief difference between *though he grow* and *though he be grown,* or between *I'll go about* it and *I'll be gone about it,* is that the compound form denotes completed action or state attained. In earlier English with auxiliary *be* either the perfect tense or state attained could be inferred according to

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

the context. But the introduction of *has* as auxiliary with intransitives gives *be* + intransitive participle the sense of state attained to our present feeling. The fact also that *be* + participles of transitives (often identical in form with intransitives) makes the passive voice, is apt to deceive the modern feeling in *be lapsed.* The older feeling for the intransitive is perfectly preserved in negro English. For example, "Soon's a nigger make a li'l sump'n he better git to leavin'. An' 'fo' long ev'ybody's *goin' be lef'.*"[1] Ordinarily *be left* would now seem to be passive voice. But here *goin' be lef'* means "will be gone" or "will have gone."[2]

For our purposes either the perfect tense or state attained will fit the explanation. In the *Hamlet* passage *lapsed* may approach the adjective sense "careless," or may have the sense of completed action, "slipped, fallen." If an auxiliary had been used, the phrase would have been *being lapsed,* meaning either "being careless," or "having fallen." In *Twelfth Night, be lapsed,* instead of being the compound passive of a transitive verb, as explained by Schmidt and the *Oxford,* is the subjunctive active form corresponding to the indicative *am lapsed,* the compound form of the intransitive. The subjunctive in the conditional clause throws the time into the future, so that if we give *lapsed* its usual sense as in *Hamlet,* the meaning is "if I shall slip" (more exactly, "if I shall have slipped," since future completed action, as in *be gone,* is suggested),[3] or "if I shall be careless." Now for the application to the context.

To Sebastian's request that they view the sights of the city, Antonio replies,

> What we took from them, which, for traffic's sake,
> I do not without danger walk these streets.
> Once, in a sea-fight, 'gainst the Count his galleys
> I did some service; of such note indeed,
> That were I ta'en here it would scarce be answer'd. . . .
> It might have since been answer'd in repaying

[1] Rudolph Fisher, *Atlantic Monthly,* Feb. 1925, p. 181.

[2] The development of the perfect tense with *have* and *be* + past participle is the result of inference in both cases. But a new word-order has fixed the difference between perfect tense and present state attained with *have* + participle, so that *he has a house painted and furnished* is now distinct from *he has painted and furnished a house.* But no formal differentiation has taken place between *they are gone* = "they are absent," and *they are gone* = "they have departed." We now make the differentiation by substituting *have gone* for the latter.

[3] In future conditions the simple future is often substituted for the future perfect.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

> Most of our city did; only myself stood out,
> For which, if I be lapsed in this place,
> I shall pay dear.
> *Sebastion*: Do not then walk too open.

Observe that he had said already, "If I were captured, it would scarcely be answered." It seems unlikely that he would immediately repeat this in *if I be lapsed*. The idea prominent throughout the passage is, that since Antonio must be in the enemy city, he must be circumspect. I take the passage to mean then, "If I shall slip, make a misstep, be careless, I shall pay dear." In the following scene Antonio makes the misstep by mistaking Viola for Sebastian and falls into the hands of the officers.

Hiram College

JOHN S. KENYON

THE "ODE TO AN EXPIRING FROG"

The Corresponding Members of the Pickwick Club, as befitted their personal merit, were among the guests invited by Mrs. Leo Hunter of the Den, Eatanswill, to one of her breakfasts, "feasts of reason . . . and flows of soul," as somebody who had written a sonnet to the hostess feelingly but unoriginally had remarked. The invitation was personally extended by Mr. Leo Hunter, on his wife's behalf, to Mr. Pickwick, who, naturally, accepted it, on the part of himself and his companions.[1]

In the course of the conversation Mr. Leo Hunter touched upon the subject of poetry. Said Mr. Hunter to Mr. Pickwick:

> 'You have a gentleman in your train, who has produced some beautiful little poems, I think, sir.'
> 'My friend Mr. Snodgrass has a great taste for poetry,' answered Mr. Pickwick.
> 'So has Mrs. Leo Hunter, sir. She dotes on poetry, sir. She adores it; I may say that her whole soul and mind are wound up and entwined with it. She has published some delightful pieces herself, sir. You may have met with her "Ode to an Expiring Frog," sir.'
> 'I don't think I have,' said Mr. Pickwick.
> 'You astonish me, sir,' said Mr. Leo Hunter. 'It created an immense sensation. It was signed with an "L" and eight stars, and appeared originally in a Lady's Magazine. It commenced
> ' "Can I view thee panting, lying
> On thy stomach without sighing;
> Can I unmoved see thee dying
> On a log,
> Expiring frog!" '

[1] *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club*, ed. by A. Lang, London, n.d. "The Gadshill Edition." Two Vols. I, 234.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

'Beautiful!' said Mr. Pickwick.
'Fine,' said Mr. Leo Hunter, 'so simple.'
'Very,' said Mr. Pickwick.
'The next verse is still more touching. Shall I repeat it?'
'If you please,' said Mr. Pickwick.
'It runs thus,' said the grave man, still more gravely.

' "Say, have friends in shape of boys,
With wild halloo, and brutal noise,
Hunted thee from marshy joys,
With a dog,
Expiring frog!" '

At this point I give over quotation, for no more of the "Ode" is given us, and it is with that that I am concerned.

So far as I can ascertain, no commentator has paid any attention to these lines, deeming them doubtless to be merely a bit of facetiousness on the part of Dickens. That they are a bit of facetiousness is clear, I think, even to the most obtuse. That they are actually a parody of a specific set of serious verses has hitherto never been hinted, although this seems to be the case.

On pp. 155-56 of *The British Poetical Miscellany*[2] is to be found, I believe, the original of Mrs. Leo Hunter's pathetic and sympathetic philobatrachic verses.

The poem runs as follows:

To a Frog

Poor thing! wherefore dost thou fly?
Why seek to shun my gazing eye,
And palpitate with fear?
Indulge a passing trav'ller's sight,
And leap not on in vain affright;
No cruel foe is here.

I would but pause awhile to view
Thy dappled coat of many a hue;
Thy rapid bound survey;
And see how well thy limbs can glide
Along the sedge-crown'd streamlet's tide,
Then journey on my way.

No savage sage am I, whose pow'r
Shall tear thee from thy rush-wove bow'r,
To feel th' unsparing knife:
No barb'rous schemes this hand shall try;
Nor, to prolong thy death, would I
Prolong thy little life.

Ah! let not him, whose wanton skill
Delights the mangled frog to kill,
The wreath of praise attain!
Philosophy abhors the heart
That prostitutes her sacred art
To give one being pain.

[2] "To please the Fancy / And improve the Mind," Fourth edition enlarged,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Where the editor of the *Miscellany* obtained this interesting effusion for his compilation, I do not know: quite possibly from a "Lady's Magazine," and it may well have been signed with an initial and eight asterisks. It certainly affords the satirist or the parodist the same opportunity as does Coleridge's famous "Monologue to a Young Jackass in Jesus Piece"; and, as Byron in *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* paid his respects to "the Laureate of the long-eared kind," so Dickens may have had his turn with the anonymous frog poet.

The themes of the "Ode" and "To a Frog" are the same. Each is sentimentally overdone in its treatment of the subject; Dickens's, as one would expect in a burlesque, the more ridiculous of course. The metrical systems, although not identical, are similar. The earlier poet uses a six-line stanza rhyming AABCCB, with lines three and six of six syllables each, the others of eight. Dickens has a five-line stanza, AAABB, of which the first three lines are octosyllabic and the last two trisyllabic. I should say that the novelist constructed his parody from memory, and I do not believe the hypothesis to be wild, although indeed only an hypothesis, that the memory was from his childhood, and that he may have been taught the "To a Frog" lines to encourage in his youthful breast kindly sentiments toward the amphibian inhabitants of the ponds and marshes near Chatham.

Northwestern University

R. S. Forsythe

EIN UNVEROEFFENTLICHTES (?) GEDICHT VON KARL BARTSCH

Wenngleich die zahlreichen Arbeiten Karl Bartschens in Fachkreisen genugsam Zugang gefunden haben, so dürfte seine dichterische Tätigkeit wohl weniger bekannt sein. Es mag wohl seiner dichterischen Neigung und Anlage zuzuschreiben sein, dasz er sich vornehmlich mit metrischen Studien befaszt hat. Bechstein in seiner Charakteristik dieses Gelehrten[1] hat dies näher ausgeführt. Mehr als jemand vor ihm, ja in weit gröszerem Masze als Lachmann, hat er der Metrik ein weitgehendes Interesse entgegengebracht. Seine eigene dichterische Anlage, sein rhythmisches Formgefühl, sowie das Vermögen dichterisch nachzuempfinden und

Huddersfield. Printed and sold by T. Smart, King-street. The preface is signed "T. S.," and is dated "Nov. 23, 1818."

[1] *Zur Erinnerung an K.B., Vjs. f.d.A. Germania*, 1888, 1. Heft.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

in die ureigensten Gedanken eines älteren Dichters einzudringen waren bei Bartsch eine Naturgabe. Er hat von seiner Dichtergabe Zeugnis abgelegt in dem Bändchen *Wanderung und Heimkehr*.[2] In diesen 132 Gedichten liegt keine starke Kraft und grosze Originellität wohl aber Klarheit und Formvollendung. Leben, Liebe, Naturbilder, Religiöses (darunter: ein Weihnachtslied für meine Kinder), Balladen und Todtenlieder machen deren Inhalt aus. Ueber fast allen lagert ein Hauch milder Schwermut. Das Hinscheiden lieber Freunde veranlaszte ihn ihnen einen dichterischen Nachruf zu widmen. Es ist den Fachgenossen bekannt, dasz er der Verfasser vieler Nekrologe war. So schrieb er zum Andenken an Julius Hammer, Ludwig Uhland, König Max II, J. L. Hoffmann und Jakob Grimm die tiefgefühlten Verse, die er in die obige Sammlung einverleibte.

Vor Jahren kam ein Bändchen dieser Sammlung in den Besitz des Verfassers, Es stammte dasselbe aus der Bibliothek Richard Wülckers. Auf der Innenseite des Umschlags befindet sich das hier folgende Gedicht:

An dem Tage, da der Weggefährte
Von der Lebenswandrung heimwärts kehrte,
Lege Zeugniss dieses Büchlein ab:
Treu in Herzen lebt sein Angedenken,
Mochten sie den Staub ins Grab versenken,
Was der Edle *war*, bedeckt kein Grab.
12. October 1880. K.B.

Ein Vergleich mit anderen Schriftzügen der Handschrift von Bartsch läszt keinen Zweifel zu, dasz dies Gedicht von Bartschens eigener Hand stammt. Die Frage ist nur: wem galt es? Bisher ist es dem Verfasser nicht möglich gewesen zu ermitteln, wem diese Zeilen gewidmet wurden.

University of Pittsburgh

J. F. L. RASCHEN

"MAKE ROPE'S IN SUCH A SCARRE"

Mr. A. G. Newcomer, in an article[1] offering his solution of the troublesome lines in *All's Well*, IV, ii, 38-39,

I see that men make rope's in such a scarre,
That wee'l forsake our selves,

[2] *Wanderung und Heimkehr, Gedichte von Karl Bartsch*, Leipzig, 1874.
[1] *Modern Philology*, XI (1913-14), 141-44.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

says, "a 'scarre' ('scar', 'scaur') meant, up to Shakespeare's time, a bold rock or crag." It is of interest that Drayton uses the word in *Polyolbion*, Song XXVII:[2]

> From that rough Neptune's rage,
> The isle of Walney lies, whose longitude doth swage
> His fury when his waves on Furnesse seem to war,
> Whose crooked back is arm'd with many a rugged *scarr*
> Against his boist'rous shocks.

And in the margin, he explains, "a scarr is a rock."

The point to note is that Drayton, writing only a decade after Shakespeare's play, feels that the word is uncommon enough to make definition necessary.

Princeton University

R. R. Cawley

"ASTER" AND "STARR"

In my recent book, *Translation and Translations* (Bell & Sons), I said (p. 32) that "Plato's immortal epigrams on 'Aster' (*Anthologia Palatina*, VII, 669-670) cannot be fitly rendered in English; for, though Starr is an English proper name, a play upon it would be grotesque. We must go for help to the Latin." Hence to give the play upon words, without which these two poems cannot be "translated," though Mr. A. J. Butler in his "Aramanth and Asphodel" (*Poems from the Greek Anthology*, p. 26) and others have failed to comprehend this. I rendered 'Αστήρ by 'Stellor.'

> Star-gazing, Stellor! Oh were I yon skies
> To look upon thee with a myriad eyes!

What I said about 'Starr' is true of present-day English. But not so true of the older language. At all events this play upon words was not "grotesque" to the composer of the following epitaph which I take from Ward Lock & Co.'s guide to Lyme Regis and South Dorset, Seaton Section, p. 659.

"In the churchyard [of St. Gregory's Church, Seaton] is a flat stone commemorating John Starre; until a few years ago it was still possible to decipher the following lines:

> John Starre
> Starre on Hie
> Where should a Starre be
> But on Hie!
> Tho underneath
> He now doth lie,

[2] Ll. 323-27.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Yet shall he rise
More glorious than
The Starres in skies
1633"

Cambridge, England

J. P. POSTGATE

"VENI, VIDI, VICI."

Apropos of the recent very interesting discussion in *The Philological Quarterly*[1] on the origin of Caesar's vaunt "*Veni, vidi, vici*," I may be allowed to say that the comparison of it with the saying attributed to Democrates (ap. Diels, *Vorsokr.*, II, 82) was first made by Stroth: "Cuivis facile occurrit illud Caesaris: Veni, vidi, vici" (quoted by Orelli, *Opuscula*, I, 504).

Cambridge, England

J. P. POSTGATE

ERRATA

The Part Played by Horace Walpole and James Boswell in the Quarrel between Rousseau and Hume. By Frederick A. Pottle. (IV, 351-63.)

1. Note 9 (p. 354) promises too much. There still remain in the French texts as printed several errors in accentuation. The reader will be able to correct these without having each lapse pointed out.

2. All the other vagaries in spelling, capitalization, and syntax (this last whether indicated as such or not) *are those of the texts*, with the following exceptions (corrections indicated by italics):

p. 354, l.9 *c'en* est *un* aussi
p. 354, l.13 sur *ce* Sujet
p. 355, l.7 bien *du* Fracas
p. 355, l.16 Cas infini *du* Charlatan
p. 355, l.18 avoit *été bouleversée*
p. 355, l.22 dele [pas]
p. 358, l.12 et ait *ensuite* publié
p. 358, l.12 Lettres *écrites* (the indicated correction is unnecessary).

[1] III (1924), 237; IV (1925), 151-156.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

BOOK REVIEWS

The Life and Poems of Nicholas Grimald, by L.R. Merrill. iii + 463 pp. Yale University Press, 1925.

In the preface, the author says: "It has been the object of this dissertation to present a life of Grimald, the facts of which have not been known; to reproduce the text of his two Latin dramas, *Christus Redivivus* and *Archipropheta,* the latter of which has been inaccessible to students of early sixteenth-century drama; and to present both of these plays in translations." The dissertation also contains "The Shorter Poems of Nicholas Grimald," a reprint of the forty poems of Grimald from *Songes and Sonettes* (*Tottel's Miscellany*), published in 1557, and a reprint of six commendatory poems by Grimald, five of which are in Latin and one in English.

In his life of Grimald, Dr. Merrill discusses the problem of the sudden wane in the popularity of Grimald in his own age as shown by a comparison of the first and second editions of *Tottel's Miscellany* in which the forty poems by Grimald in the first edition are reduced to nine in the second and his full signature to the initials N.G. Dr. Merrill advances much new evidence to support the suggestion, made by previous critics, that Grimald's decrease in popularity was due to his betrayal of the protestant martyrs, Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, during the persecutions under Queen Mary.

The most valuable contribution that Dr. Merrill has made in his dissertation is his text and translation of Grimald's two Latin dramas. In his preface to *Christus Redivivus,* Dr. Merrill discusses its influence on Sebastian Wild's *Passionspiel,* published in 1566; and through the medium of Wild's play its influence on the oldest known text of the Oberammergau passion play, written in 1662. In this matter Dr. Merrill acknowledges the previous studies of August Hartman and Johannes Bolte. In his preface to *Archipropheta,* Dr. Merrill discusses the source of the plot of the play in Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews.*

In his discussion of Grimald as teacher, preacher, translator, poet, and dramatist, Dr Merrill's critical judgment is affected by the enthusiasm of the student for the object of his patient research. For instance, Dr. Merrill argues that to Nicholas Grimald, rather than to Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, is due the honor of the introduction of blank verse into English poetry. In support of this contention, he points out that the two poems of Grimald in blank verse, *The Death of Zoroas* and *Marcus Tullius Ciceroes Death,* were printed by Tottel in *Songes and Sonettes,* June 5, 1557, over two weeks earlier than the printing of Tottel's version of Surrey's translation in blank verse of the second and fourth books of Vergil's *Aeneid,* June 21, 1557. The other edition of Surrey's translation of Vergil, which contains only the fourth book of the *Aeneid,* was printed without a date by John Day for William Owen. Miss Gladys D. Willcock, who has made a study of Day's edition, thinks that it was printed in 1554; but Dr. Merrill in an elaborate argument attempts to

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

refute Miss Willcock's conclusions. Since Surrey died in 1547, his blank verse must have been composed before that date, and some scholars think that it was composed as early as 1539. Dr. Merrill, however, suggests that "it is not impossible that Grimald's compositions in blank verse were done before Surrey's, for in 1547 he was appointed lecturer in rhetoric at Christ Church, Oxford. To hold such a position he must have been proficient in versification." By means of similar logic, Dr. Merrill concludes that Grimald influence upon blank verse must have been "much farther reaching than Surrey's."

C.L. FINNEY.

University of Iowa

An Anthology of Medieval Latin, chosen by Stephen Gaselee, M.A., F.S.A., C.B.E., Librarian and Keeper of the Papers at the Foreign Office; Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. xii + 140 pages. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1925.

The last year or two have seen a gratifying increase of interest in medieval studies, if one is to judge by the development of the medieval group in the M.L.A., the organization of the Committee on Medieval Latin Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies, and particularly the activities of publishers and authors. In this attractive anthology Mr. Gaselee has brought together some 45 selections ranging from Latin inscriptions of the first century to such modern attempts as Baudelaire's "Novis te cantabo chordis" from *Les Fleurs du Mal* and present-day correspondence in Latin among Catholic ecclesiastics—rather an extensive period, as the compiler agrees, to be termed "medieval"! The purpose of the book, however, is frankly cultural and diversional rather than historical, linguistic, or scholarly, though Mr. Gaselee obviously possesses the qualifications necessary to the editing of a really scientific anthology of Medieval Latin. We are thankful for what he has given us—a well-chosen, though individualistic, series of extracts that represent a cross-section of medieval and renaissance life, with points of interest for students of the classics, of the Romance languages, of Germanics, and of English.

From the standpoint of the Romance philologist, we have certain material in the vernacular, such as early inscriptions and an extract from the well-known *Peregrinatio Silviae* (or rather *Aetheriae*), a work which is more or less traditional in courses in Vulgar Latin. Despite the relatively small amount of such material one finds examples of such stock developments in Vulgar Latin as the loss of final *m* and of *n* before *s*, the confusion of *b* and *v* in spellings, the reduction of *ae* to *e*, the loss of case-endings, syncope, and even metathesis.

Other interesting selections include extracts from historians such as Gildas, the Venerable Bede, and Paulus Diaconus; selections from such medieval hymn-writers as St. Ambrose and Bernard of Morlaix or Cluny, whose *De contemptu mundi* has given us the well-known "Jerusalem the Golden;" a communion hymn from the Bangor Antiphonary; students' songs; an extract from Walter Map's *De nugis curialium;* two extracts from the rolls of the "Pie Powder Court" or Fair Court of St. Ives (13th century); a passage from Duns Scotus, etc. An extract from the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* illsutrates the development of Renaissance Latin. The novelesque element is represented by a thirteenth century *exemplum*, of the man who sold his soul to the devil—the Faust-theme—and by some seventeen stories from the *Facetiae* of Poggio and Bebel.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Of interest among the latter is Bebel's 16th century Latin version of the tale of the Jew who became a Christian in spite of the corruption witnessed at Rome, familiar as Boccaccio's *Dec.* 1, 2, but occurring also in Hans Sachs, Nicolas de Troyes, and Luther's *Tischreden.* A 16th century Latin sermon by Michel Minot has some amusing interpolations in the vernacular: "De quoi mêlezvous, belle dame?" "Elle étoit faite pour regarder." (Cf. present-day student slang, "She is easy on the eyes!")

One would have liked to see included in the volume something from Roswitha, or from the hymns of that great contemporary of St. Ambrose, Prudentius, or from such medieval chroniclers as Hincmar or Flodoard—it would be easy to list a dozen such *desiderata;* but since Mr. Gaselee expressly acknowledges the eclectic nature of his selections we must accept his book for what it is—a companionable volume of varied charm, well calculated to stimulate interest in a many-sided period.

The compiler has provided a brief introduction, with a few bibliographical hints (I wish he had included Ebert's useful *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande*) as well as scholarly footnotes, an appendix of metrical forms, and an index. Esthetically the book is a gem, beautifully printed and practically free of misprints (I have noted only one: *her* for *here* on p. 25). The reproduction of Giulio Romano's portrait of Queen Joanna of Naples which serves as frontispiece adds to the attractiveness of an unusually appealing book.

HENRY GRATTAN DOYLE.
George Washington University

The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century, by Benjamin Bissell, ix + 223 pp. Yale University Press, 1925.

Dr. Bissell's dissertation follows the conventional pattern in its division of the literature of the eighteenth century into history and travel, fiction, drama, and poetry, with chapters devoted to each, in which all the discoverable titles, significant and insignificant, are painstakingly considered. One play, Cumberland's *West Indian,* might well have been included, even though its hero was a white man, because of its implied reflections upon the influence of a primitive environment, " that warm, sunny climate where naked nature walks without disgrace," and because of its Rousseauistic sentimentalism. The time limits of the present study, too, are interpreted arbitrarily. Mrs. Behn's *Oroonoko* is properly enough included, even though it antedated the century; but the author omits mention of *Indian* and *Virginia,* plays produced at Drury Lane on the sixth and thirteenth of October, 1800. Passing reference might also have been made to the trail of Indian influence in such nineteenth century dramas as Buckstone's *The Green Bushes,* based as it likely was on a melodrama, *Perouse, or the Desolate Island* (possibly by Fawcett), which ran for thirty-five performances at Covent Garden in 1801, and which was itself based on a 1799 translation from Kotzebue's *Perouse.* However dubious the geographical locale of the earlier plays, Buckstone's is definitely American. The plan of Dr. Bissell's book being what it is, its interest varies with the merit or importance of the works referred to. Along with this tabulation an attempt is made to relate interest in Indian life to the primitivistic aspects of Rousseauism. In three introductory chapters we first see the Indian through civilized eyes, and then European civilization through Indian eyes. In this

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

respect, however, the results of the study are negative. Perhaps, as the author remarks, because England knew the Indians of northern climates rather than those of the exotic tropics, but more likely for other reasons, a sentimental feeling toward them got little footing in English literature. The common sense attitude toward primitive life held by men like Dr. Johnson was fortified by acquaintance with the real Indian through the harrowing narratives of settlers. The Romantic concept entertained by French writers doubtless had its basis in part in the superior skill shown by their voyageurs in placating the Indians with whom they came in contact. Certainly the French had abundant association with the Indians of northern climates. So far as the present work is conclusive, it is in the disproof of any strong, direct influence of the American Indian upon Romanticism and Sentimentalism in England. What tendency there was to magnify the virtues of the savage in a state of nature came, it seems, largely through French or Spanish sources. The book is not equipped with a bibliography, and, we may therefore assume, lists in its pages all titles its author has encountered. If so, the total may be regarded as substantial if not large, and as amply justifying the study.

BARTHOLOW V. CRAWFORD.

University of Iowa

L'Influence Française dans l'Oeuvre de Ruben Darío, par Erwin K. Mapes. Champion. Paris 1925.

This is the twenty-third volume of the *Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature Comparée*, directed by MM. Baldensperger and Hazard, and it appears an excellent contribution to the series.

Doctor Mapes' thesis traces the French influences undergone by Ruben Darío, the well-known Nicaraguan writer and poet who died early in 1916. Darío was more properly a pure artist than a philosopher or an original thinker; and he plays a rôle in literature less by his ideas than by the technique he has developed, especially in versification.

Spanish works impress strongly his early career; but in *Azul* a French influence, that of the conteurs of the Parnassian group, is vividly felt. Darío's prose becomes more condensed, and his subjects are those that, in that time, enjoy vogue among the intellectuals of France. The French influence is still more strongly felt in *Prosas Profanas*,—"l'oeuvre moderniste par excellence," says Dr. Mapes. Darío, who now possesses the French tongue in all perfection, imitates all literary subjects which French writers try; his style, his versification are now perfected and sure of themselves. *Cantos de Vida y esperanza* is the work of his mature life. It is not the most important of his works, yet it may be considered the most interesting in the point of view of his technique. Darío shows himself as no disciple of any particular school, romantic parnassian or symbolist, but as having harmoniously combined the elements of all the schools.

The book is followed by a very complete bibliography of all the material on the subject available in Europe and in America.

A. J. DICKMAN.

University of Iowa

Samuel Butler, the Author of Hudibras, by Jan Veldkamp. Hilversum, 1923.

Although the place of Samuel Butler and of *Hudibras* has been considered

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

generally one of importance in the history of English literature, nevertheless both poet and poem have been pretty consistently neglected. The arrival in this country of Mr. Jan Veldkamp's doctoral dissertation, *Samuel Butler, the Author of Hudibras,* was awaited, therefore, with considerable interest, especially by students of seventeenth century literature.

All doctoral dissertations are disappointing in spots and Mr. Veldkamp's is no exception. The first section of the book is concerned with Butler's life. This is one of the disappointing spots, for the author has nothing new to offer. Mr. Veldkamp's biography of Butler is only another silent tribute to the scholarship of Grey and Nash.

The second section of the dissertation is devoted mainly to a criticism of *Hudibras.* This is another disappointing spot. Mr. Veldkamp sticks too closely to the conventional point of view of Butler's satire as one almost wholly upon Puritanism. He says very little of the social satire in *Hudibras* and almost completely neglects Butler's satire upon French imitations, especially his ridicule of the French pseudo-heroic vogue in literature and life. Thus he is led to remark merely in passing that the mock-heroic form of *Hudibras* is unimportant. This is a very curious oversight if the rather lengthy passages opening the second canto of the first part and the first canto of the second part are read correctly.

In the third and last section Mr. Veldkamp discusses the question of influences upon Butler. This is the best part of the book, for the author here makes his only real contribution to scholarsip. The vexed question of Butler's indebtedness to Rabelais and Cervantes is here more fully presented than ever before. Mr. Veldkamp's conclusion that *Hudibras* is not a versified *Don Quixote* is entirely convincing. Less convincing, because of the generality of the proof, is his argument that Butler was under obligation to Rabelais for much of the material of *Hudibras.* Yet as a first scholarly attempt at determining the influence of Rabelais upon Butler, Mr. Veldkamp's argument commands the greatest respect.

On the whole the book deserves a place in the history of Butler criticism. Although it is not an entirely satisfactory work, it is nevertheless a real attempt at a detailed study of Butler's life and of his great satire. For this at least Mr. Veldkamp deserves the thanks of all students of seventeenth century literature.

GUY LINTON DIFFENBAUGH.
Saint Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana

Stories and Ballads of the far Past. Translated from the Norse (Icelandic and Faroese), with Introduction and Notes, by N. Kershaw. vi + 256 pp. Cambridge University Press, 1921.

It is a real pleasure to me to call the attention of the readers of the *Philological Quarterly* to this publication. There are, to begin with, four translations from the *Fornaldar Sögur Norþrlanda,* which I am sure students of Old Norse will heartily welcome. We have had very little before rendered into English of these exceedingly interesting Northland romances of ancient times. The volume contains four of these: *The Nornagest Story (þáttr af Nornagest), The Sorli Story, The Saga of Hromund Greipsson,* and *The Saga of Hervor and Heidrek.* For this, which constitutes Part I of the book, there is furthermore an Appendix containing *The Combat at Samso* and *Hjalmar's*

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Death Song. And I shall add at once that the translations are in the main excellent; for the prose they are certainly among the very finest that have yet appeared from Old Norse into English. And the poetry has throughout been handled with the same sure touch, though I can readily see that some students of Old Norse will regret the departure so often from the metrical form of the original. I shall come back to this below.

The second part gives selected ballad material, pp. 153-219. There are first some twenty stanzas of the *Griplur* (XIVth century *Rímur*); then there is the Faroese ballad of *Nornagest*, followed by the Faroese ballad of *Hjalmar and Angantyr*. Of Faroese ballads there are further, that of *Arngrim's Sons*, and *The Riddle Ballad*. Two more complete the offerings of the ballads: the Shetlandic *Hildina*, and the Danish ballad of *Angelfyr and Helmer*. A considerable body of excellent notes, pp. 220-253, and a bibliography close the volume. There is a general introduction to the ballads, dealing with the question of the nature, the relationship, the study and editing of Faroese ballads. The saga translations are also supplied with an introduction.

It is not my intention here to review the translator's work as a whole. I shall confine myself to indicating how she has acquitted herself of what was perhaps the most difficult part of her task, namely the rendering of *The Hervor Lay*, and *Hjalmar's Death Song*. From the former I shall quote the stanzas in which Angantyr reveals where the sword Tyrfing is and Hervor's answer. The original says:

Liggr mer undir herþum — Hjalmars bani;
allr er hann útan — elldi sveipinn.
Mey veit ek önga — fyrir mold ofan,
at þann hjör þori — i hendur nema.

That is, literally:

Under my shoulder lies — Hjalmar's bane;
all without 'tis — wrapped with flame.
No maiden I know — above the Earth,
who dares the sword — in her hand to seize.

Kershaw renders:

The sword that the death-stroke to Hjalmar gave
Lies under my shoulders within the grave,
And wrapped about with flame.
But that maiden lives not in any land
Who dare grasp the weapon within her hand
For any hope of fame.

And Hervor's answer is rendered:

There lives, O Angantyr, a maid
Who yearns to handle the keen-edged blade,
And such a maid am I!
And what care I though the tomb fire blaze!
They sink and tremble before my gaze,
They quiver out and die!

And the closing stanza, where Hervor has secured the sword Tyrfing, is translated:

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Farewell, farewell to all you dead!
Farewell! I would that I were sped!
Farewell all you in the mound! . . .
Surely in terror I drew my breath
Between the Worlds of Life and Death
When the grave fires girt me round!

Thus the translator preserves the metre in this case, and also sometimes employs alliteration; but the end rime is, of course, an absolute departure, which brings this poetry of the romantic sagas nearer to the form of the ballads. I would have preferred that this had not been done. However, if one grants the use of end rime in the rendering of the poetry of these sagas, then Miss Kershaw has come as near to perfection here, it seems to me, as it is possible. And there can be no doubt that in this form they will appeal to, and be understood by, a far larger number of readers.

Hjalmar's Death Song has in the Old Norse the usual metrical alliterative form. In the translation there are many changes from this. The eight-line *fornyrþislag* is reproduced in six-line stanzas, in which the odd lines are long (four feet) and the even lines short (three feet)—iamb, trochee, and anapest. There is occasional alliteration; and end rime only for the even lines. I quote the following three stanzas, which seem to me exceedingly well done: To Odd's question why he is so pale Hjalmar answers:

With sixteen wounds is my mailcoat rent,
And the world is fading fast.
Blindly I tread in the gathering gloom,
Pierced to the heart at the last
By Angantyr's sword with its pitiless point
And its edges in poison cast.

I have given no cause to Ingebjörg
To hold my prowess light;
It shall never be said by our maidens at home
That I gave one thought to flight.
They shall hear how the battle was fought and won.—
How I wielded my sword in the fight.

In my mind I can see the henchmen
Drinking mead in my father's hall.—
A circle of gold is round every throat,
And joy is among them all.
My merry companions are drinking their ale,
Till thought and care are no more,
While I, torn with wounds from a murderous sword,
Perish here on this island shore.

Regarding Part II, the Ballads, I shall add that that the melodies for the Faroese ballads are given as transcribed by Professor Thuren (*Folkesangen paa Færöerne*). *Stories and Ballads* is excellently printed and attractively bound; I have found very few misprints.

GEORGE F. FLOM.

University of Illinois

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

PHILOLOGICAL QUARTERLY

VOLUME V JULY, 1926 NUMBER 3

THE BEGINNING OF COTTON MATHER'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE

By KUNO FRANCKE
Harvard University

About thirty years ago, I called attention[1] to the earliest case on record of sustained American interest in German intellectual affairs: the eager enthusiasm with which Cotton Mather followed and abetted the great philanthropic and educational undertakings of August Hermann Francke, the apostle of Pietism at the University of Halle. From many entries in Mather's Diary between 1709 and 1724, referring to his correspondence with Francke and his unmeasured admiration for him; from frequent allusions in the same Diary to his preaching about Francke's work and collecting money for it in New England; and from his printed account of the details of the Franckian establishments at Halle, based upon reports received from Francke himself—it appeared that this German episode in Mather's life constituted one of his happiest and most valued experiences.

Subsequently, I found and transcribed in the Library of the *Franckesche Stiftungen* at Halle a draft in Francke's own handwriting, of the letter,[2] more than seventy pages long, addressed by him to Mather December 19, 1714, which forms the basis of Mather's *Nuncia bona e terra longinqua* of 1715.

But of Mather's own letters to his German friend I was unable to find any trace either among the Mather manuscripts preserved in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Boston Congregational Library, and the American Antiquarian Society, or among the papers of the Francke archive at Halle. Now, however, the director of the *Franckesche Stiftungen*, Dr. August Nebe,

[1] Cf. *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, V, 57 ff.
[2] Published by me in *Americana Germanica*, I, 4, 32 ff.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

has discovered in the library of that institution at least one of these letters and has kindly placed his transcription of it at my disposal.

The letter, dated May 28, 1711, is apparently the first message dispatched by Mather to Germany. He refers to it himself, or rather to his intention of writing it, in his Diary, March 25 of that year, with the words:[3] "When I send unto Dr. *Franckius* in the Lower *Saxony*, I would enclose a present of Gold, for his *Orphan-house*, which may be to the value of four or five pounds in that Country." Unfortunately, the package containing both letter and money seems to have been lost. For Francke, in his long letter of December 19, 1714, while acknowledging the receipt of a letter and money gift dated January 10, 1712, adds:[4] "*illae autem* [*litterae*], *quas die 28. Maii 1711 abs Te missas esse scribis ac quarum exemplum istis incluseras, mihi nondum sunt redditae.*" The loss, however, does not seem to have dampened Mather's enthusiasm; for soon after hearing of it, he sent more money.[5]

With Dr. Nebe's permission, I herewith publish this letter, or rather the duplicate of it which Mather enclosed in the letter of January 10, 1712. Its flowery and turgid style and the writer's obvious propensity for self-advertising cannot hide the spiritual fervor and eager helpfulness which made this zealous Puritan so ardent an advocate of German Pietism.

Reverendo
omni laude insignissimo dignissimoque viro atque per totum terrarum orbem omnium fere gentium litteris et linguis celebrato
Dr. Augusto Hermanno Franckio
e remotissimis Indiae occidentalis regionibus salutem in Christo plurimam ac aeternam.

Animus, Vir optime, Vester delectatione aliqua forsan et admiratione afficietur, quum eadem in Media America Christianismi ac veri Pietismi, quae Vobiscum in interioribus Europae partibus excoluntur, studia deprehenderitis.

Sanctae coelestique delectationi Vestrae majus adhuc suaviusque necesse est ut admisceatur condimentum, quum certiores facti fueritis rumorem gratissimum *Pietatis Halensis* fragrantissimumque odorem trans oceanum Atlanticum in oras longinquas penetrasse atque eandem in *Americanis* inflammasse Ecclesiis.

Hoc a nobis exigitur atque justissime expectatur Christianismi officium ut nostram Vobiscum concordiam ac Symphoniam Vestramque in nos quasi benignissimarum stellarum influentiam Vobis patefaceremus.

Gloria Deo in excelsis resonabit, quum haec Sanctorum communio fundatur. Laetabuntur simul stellae matutinae et omnes Dei filii jubilabunt.

Mirabilis de Orphanotropheo Vestro historia nobis Americanis non est ignota;

[3] *Studies and Notes*, p. 58.

[4] *Americana Germanica*, p. 32.

[5] Cf. Mather's letter to A. W. Boehme, the promoter of German Pietism in England and his intermediator with Francke, *Studies and Notes*, p. 60.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

legimus, colimus, vestigiaque Dei in illo mirifico Providentiae divinae monumento conservando ex imo pectore veneramur.
Christo Angelisque carum, totius coeli gaudium et cura, vivat vigeat floreatque semper Vestrum Orphanotropheum.
Inter alia munera, quibus alit illud in dies paterna maximi Sospitatoris misericordia, digneris, quaeso Te, munusculum quoddam aureum accipere ab Americano quodam, qui quidem minimus Pastorum omnium et infimus merito, at qui in albo eorum, quos habetis amicos, optat rogatque reperiri.
Munusculum hocce comitantur libelli quidam Americani, in quibus perspicua videbit R.V. testimonia nos eorum, quae praeclare gessisti, non esse prorsus ignaros. Testes erunt amicitiae benevolentiaeque, quae ut inter nos o si intercedere possit! ingentis desiderii atque suspirii ut intercedat.
Ducentos plus minus libros publico usui exhibuit imperita atque impolita haec, quae iam scribit, manus. Hos vero solos ad R.V. mittit, quia in his solis mentionem Vestri facit. Scripsit non tantum in lingua sua vernacula vel in illis, quae docentur in scholis, verum etiam scripsit, vel saltem scripturiebat, in Gallica, Hispanica, Indica. Vestram non callet Germanicam, sperat vero aliquos inter vos Anglicam calluisse, quorum ope eorum, quae in his libris continentur, notitia ad Te perveniet.
Reliquum est ut sub alis gloriosissimi nostri Jesu fidelissimum Domini servum relinquam.
Vale, Vir Praestantissime, diuque Orphanotropheo, Academiae, Ecclesiae praesis et prosis. Ita precatur

R.V.

observantissimus

Cottonus Matherus
Bostonensis, Nov. Anglus
Americanus

Dabam
Bostonae Nov.
Anglorum. Maj. 28
1711.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

THOMAS BLACKWELL, A DISCIPLE OF SHAFTESBURY

By Lois Whitney
Vassar College

Thomas Blackwell of Aberdeen University has been described in eighteenth century terms as an "elegant and enthusiastic classical scholar"[1] who "revived the study of Greek literature in the north of Scotland."[2] He does indeed seem to have been the foster-father of a rather closely related group of writers and scholars, such as Lord Monboddo, James Beattie, George Campbell, William Duff, John Gregory, and James Macpherson, whom he interested not only in the classics but in certain of his theories concerning ancient and primitive civilizations. During Blackwell's long professorship in Greek at Marischal College from 1725 to 1757, it was almost inevitable that all who attended the college in that period should come under his influence in their prescribed study of Greek. In addition to Greek, Blackwell instituted in 1750 a course of lectures in ancient history, geography, and chronology, which doubtless gave him even greater opportunity to develop his favorite primitivistic theories. But the contemporary reputation and influence in his own country of this early eighteenth century primitivist I have already discussed elsewhere and need not repeat here.[3] It is noteworthy, however, that Blackwell was influential even beyond the limits of his own country. That he had some importance in the early history of German romanticism is attested by the enthusiastic references to him in the pages of Herder.[4] Although there is at least one mention of Blackwell's *Letters concerning*

[1] John Ramsay, *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh, London, 1888), I, 291.

[2] *Studies in the History and Development of the University of Aberdeen* (Aberdeen University Studies, No. 19, 1906), p. 207; and Robert Chambers, *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* (Glasgow, 1835), I, 424.

[3] "Eighteenth Century Primitivistic Theories of the Epic," *Modern Philology*, May, 1924.

[4] I am indebted to Profs. Martin Schütze and Arthur O. Lovejoy for the suggestion that Blackwell was known to Herder.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Mythology,[5] most of Herder's references are to the *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*. He quotes Blackwell approvingly on the question of the origin of poetry,[6] and the priority of poetry to prose,[7] and commends above all Blackwell's historical method of approach to the study of Homer in "*dies schäzzbare Buch.*"[8] He does however find, in *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, that Homer is less the "*Wunder der Natur*" that Blackwell would make him than simply "*ein Kind der Natur*,"[9] thus approaching more nearly the point of view of Blackwell's successor in Homeric criticism, Robert Wood. Blackwell is also mentioned and, according to Haym, followed closely in his ideas of the origin of poetry by Herder's contemporary, Hamann.[10] The *Enquiry* was translated into both German and French, and the *Letters concerning Mythology* and the *Memoirs of the Court of Augustus* into French.[11]

Blackwell's published work forms a small but significant chapter in the history of English primitivism. In 1735 first appeared his *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*; in 1748 his *Letters Concerning Mythology*; and in 1753 and 1755 the first two volumes of the *Memoirs of the Court of Augustus*. The fragmentary third volume was prepared for the press and posthumously published by John Mill in 1763. On these three works the last is perhaps the least important for our purposes. Blackwell surveys in it the rise of Latin civilization and describes elaborately its perfection at the time of Augustus with a view to showing "that *Liberty, Virtue*, and *true Grandeur* are indissolubly linked by Nature."[12] The *Letters concerning Mythology*, begun, according to the preface, by

[5] Herder, *Sämmtliche Werke*. Herausgegeben von Bernhard Suphan (Berlin, 1877-1913), I, 78.

[6] *Ibid.*, V, 398; XXXII, 98-9.

[7] *Ibid.*, XXXII, 60.

[8] *Ibid.*, I, 189; XXIV, 228.

[9] *Ibid.*, XIV, 101. For other references to Blackwell, see V, 330, 491; XVIII, 424; XXII, 95.

[10] *Schriften*. Herausgegeben von Friedrich Roth (Berlin, 1821-43), II, 20; II, 258; IV, 310 note. See Haym, *Herder nach seinem Leben und seinem Werken* (Berlin, 1877-85), I, 140 note.

[11] *Untersuch. üb. Homers Leb. u. Schr. a. d. Engl.* v. Voss (Leipzig ,1776). French translation by M. Quatremère-Roissy (Paris, 1799); *Lettres sur la Mythologie*, traduites de l'anglois (Paris, 1771†); abridged translation of the *Memoirs* by Feutry (Paris, 1754-59).

[12] *Memoirs of the Court of Augustus* (London, 1753-63), I, 113.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

a nameless writer whose "lamented death" had interrupted the prosecution of his plan, was completed by Blackwell. He was thus responsible for all but the first six and part of the seventh and eighth letters. The book is addressed with much flourish and obsequious courtesy to a fashionable youth who is willing to let himself be inveigled into an interest in ancient literature and philosophy by the flowery path of mythology. So tenderly does Blackwell nurse the frail interest in classical lore of his correspondent that it is not until the seventeenth letter that he risks the announcement that if "my Friend" really wants to understand Greek thought he must "resolve to go to the Fountain-Head" and master the Greek language! It is the Shaftesburian technique carried to to deplorable extreme.[13] Incidentally, however, Blackwell makes in the course of the letters a number of interesting remarks about the early stages of society.

The *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer* is not only one of the notable eighteenth century investigations into the Homeric question, but a significant consideration of primitive society and primitive poetry. Blackwell, unlike his predecessors in the study of Homer, has avoided both the Aristotelian formalists' point of view and what the writer of the first part of the *Letters concerning Mythology* would call a "blind zeal for the ancients" and the theory that they were surpassingly great by virtue of a "supernatural divine assistance." Assuming that Homer was a normal human being, he sets himself the task of explaining, "By what Fate or Disposition of things it has happened, that None have equalled him in Epick Poetry for two thousand seven hundred Years, the Time since he wrote; Nor any, that we know, ever surpassed him before."[14] That problem he approaches from the historical point of view and attempts to solve by considering Homer in relation to his times. He assumes, in the first place, that there is an intimate connection between life and literature, and that that literature will be best which depicts with the greatest fidelity the life with which it is connected. "A Poet," he writes, "describes nothing so happily, as what he has seen; nor talks masterly, but in his native Language, and proper Idiom; nor mimicks truly other Manners, than those

[13] For a discussion of Shaftesbury's method, see Esther A. Tiffany, "Shaftesbury as a Stoic," *PMLA*, XXXVIII, 653 ff.

[14] *Enquiry* (2nd ed., London, 1735), p. 2. All of my references are to this edition unless otherwise specified.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

whose Originals he has practised and known."[15] In accordance with this postulate, he enquires first into the general state of civilization at the time of Homer, that is, the "manners," the state of religion and learning, and the state of the language; and second, into the subject matter with which Homer had to deal. He concludes, "In a word, That a *Concourse* of *natural* Causes conspired to produce and cultivate that mighty Genius, and gave him the noblest Field to exercise it in, that ever fell to the share of a Poet."[16]

Such is the general nature of the three books with which we have to deal. I shall not discuss them separately but shall use the material of each as it is applicable in a survey of Blackwell's primitivistic, or partially primitivistic theories.

I hesitate to use the term primitivistc without qualification, for Blackwell is not thoroughly consistent in his views. His most extensive description of a primitive social state occurs in the *Enquiry*, and here, with the exception of a few contradictory remarks early in the book, he is generally consistent. He does assume, for example, in several passages a fair amount of civilization at the time that Homer lived. Homer, whom he supposes to have lived in the second or third generation after the taking of Troy, might have observed the Greeks, he says, "in great Calamities, and in high Felicity; but more generally they were increasing in Wealth and Discipline."[17] Even further, "he might view Cities blessed with Peace, spirited by Liberty, flourishing in Trade, and increasing in Wealth."[18] Such a state is surely far from primitive, but having made these statements, Blackwell apparently forgets them, and proceeds to describe Homeric society in quite different terms.

Blackwell insists, in the first place, that Homer was drawing in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* a realistic picture of society as he knew it: "Here then was *Homer's* first Happiness," he writes, "He took his plain natural Images from *Life*: He saw *Warriors*, and *Shepherds*, and *Peasants*, such as he drew; and was daily conversant among such People as he intended to represent; The Manners used in the *Trojan* Times were not disused in his own."[19] The character-

[15] *Enquiry*, p. 29.
[16] *Enquiry*, p. 4.
[17] *Enquiry*, p. 22.
[18] *Op. cit.*, p. 23.
[19] *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

istic of these manners that Blackwell most stresses is their "naturalness." Homer "came from a Country where *Nature* governed," he writes in one passage;[20] and elsewhere, "The Grecians themselves confessed that their Country, when much more polished and improved, had never produced so many *free natural* Characters [as at the time of the Trojan War] not tainted with *Politicks*, not moulded by *Laws*, nor effeminated with *Pleasures*."[21] The law of nature by which the early Greeks were governed was not for Blackwell as it was for Locke the law of reason.[22] Blackwell's "natural state" seems to have been a pre-political state much more antinomian in its character than Locke's. It more nearly approaches the state "in which Nature shoots wild and free,"[23] described by later Scottish primitivists, such as John Gregory, William Duff, Dr. Hugh Blair, Monboddo, and James Macpherson. Compare, for instance, Macpherson's "The nobler passions of the mind never shoot forth more free and unrestrained than in those times we call barbarous,"[24] with Blackwell's "Nature was obstructed in none of her Operations; and no Rule or Prescription gave a check to Rapture and Enthusiasm."[25] He speaks in another passage of the "natural Greek in Homer's days,"[26] who exhibits "the Play of the *Passions*, the Prowess of *Bodies*, and those *single Views* of Persons and Characters that arise from untaught, undisguised Nature."[27] Further, these passages anticipate the lines in Joseph Warton's *Enthusiast* (written in 1740 and published in 1744) in which the primitive lovers are described as

> Unaw'd by shame, beneath the beechen shade
> Nor wiles, nor artificial coyness knew (Ll. 97-8);

and yet Edmund Gosse has called the *Enthusiast* a first foreshadowing of this very point of view.[28] "So Unaffected and simple were the Manners of those Times, that the Folds and Windings of the

---

[20] *Op. cit.*, p. 148.

[21] *Op. cit.*, pp. 313-4.

[22] *Treatise of Government*, II, §6.

[23] John Gregory, *Comparative View* (London, 1766), pp. viii-ix.

[24] "A Dissertation concerning the Poems of Ossian," in *Ossian* (N. Y., 1806), II, 158.

[25] *Enquiry*, p. 106.

[26] *Op. cit.*, p. 340.

[27] *Op. cit.*, p. 337.

[28] "Two Pioneers of Romanticism: Joseph and Thomas Warton," *Proc. Brit. Acad.* (1905), p. 151.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

human Breast lay open to the Eye. . . They made no scruple of owning the *Inclinations* of the Heart, and openly indulged their Passions, which were entirely void of Art and Design."[29] In still another passage in the *Enquiry* qualities of spontaneity and natural simplicity are made specifically antithetic to cultural qualities or those acquired by knowledge: "It will be found, that in all that wide *Plan* of Mankind, contained in his two Poems, there is not any single Character marked out or distinguished by *acquired* Knowledge, as we understand the word. The Knowledge and Virtues of his Persons are all *natural*; such as spring up without other culture than the native Bent of their Genius, and their Converse among Mankind. . . . It continued so until Homer's own days."[30]

The Greek, then, of Homer's time was unaffected and natural, but he was more than that: he was also noble and virtuous. This quality of goodness comes out most strikingly in connection with Blackwell's discussion of the relation between the state of society and its language considered as a vehicle for poetic expression. "By tracing the Causes which have the greatest Influence upon Language," he writes, "we are led to a thought that must give Pleasure to the *truly Good*. We find that without *Virtue* there can be no *true Poetry*: It depends upon the *Manners* of a Nation, which form their Characters, and animate their Language."[31] For manners "have a peculiar Effect upon the Language, not only as they are natural, but as they are *ingenuous* and *good*. While a Nation continues simple and sincere, whatever they say has a *Weight* from *Truth*: Their sentiments are strong and honest; which always produce fit Words to express them."[32] Now Homer, according to Blackwell, wrote just at the time when "the *Greek* Language was brought to express all the best and bravest of the human Feelings";[33] and he "had the good Fortune to see and learn the *Grecian* Manners at their true Pitch and happiest Temper for Verse."[34] Blackwell even ventures to draw the corollary that a polished language is unfit for a great poet.[35] Language fit for great poetry

[29] *Op. cit.*, p. 34.
[30] *Op. cit.*, p. 129.
[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 58.
[32] *Op. cit.*, p. 55.
[33] *Op. cit.*, p. 46.
[34] *Op. cit.*, p. 35.
[35] *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

must be formed by manners that are not only "sound and entire," but "*noble* and *heroic*," and "what is this but *Virtue's Self* in all her Lustre and Dignity!"[36] He goes even further and says, "Neither indeed does it seem to be given to one and the same Kingdom to be thoroughly civilized and afford proper Subjects for Poetry."[37] Blackwell is just human enough to hope that England never will provide fit subject matter for poetry, and yet he is far from satisfied with English civilization. We live in such a well-ordered state, he tells his countrymen, in effect, that everything happens according to custom and law; we have lost the faculty of being surprised. The marvellous, for us, is non-existent. "We are obliged to adopt a Set of *more natural* Manners, which, however, are foreign to us. . . . Nay, so far are we from enriching Poetry with *new* Images drawn from Nature, that we find it difficult to understand the *old*. . . . But let us be ingenuous, *My Lord*, and confess, that while the Moderns admire nothing but Pomp, and can think nothing *Great* or *Beautiful*, but what is the Produce of Wealth, they exclude themselves from the pleasantest and most natural Images that adorned old Poetry. *State* and *Form* disguise Man; and Wealth and Luxury disguise Nature."[38] Such are some of the reasons for the superiority of "That original and unlimited Draught of Mankind, Epic-Poetry,"[39] and for the high felicity of its composers, the strolling bards, who lived a life "the likest to the plentiful State of the *Golden Age*; without Care or Ambition, full of Variety and Change, and constantly giving or receiving the most natural and elegant Pleasures."[40]

So far the story has been very simple. If Blackwell had never written anything but this eulogy of the natural, virtuous, and manly Homeric society, he could be pigeon-holed with ease, but unfortunately even within the limits of the *Enquiry* there are both implicit and explicit contradictions, and in the other books there are further inconsistencies. The greatest inconsistency is seen in his conception of the "progression of manners" or cycle of development of nations, in which cycle the earliest or most primitive stages

[36] *Op. cit.*, pp. 58-9.
[37] *Op. cit.*, p. 26.
[38] *Op. cit.*, p. 25.
[39] *Op. cit.*, p. 64.
[40] *Op. cit.*, p. 124.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

are by no means the most virtuous. "The Manners of a People," he writes in the *Enquiry,* "seldom stand still, but are either polishing or spoiling.... When the original Planters of a Country, from a State of Ignorance and Barbarity, advance, by Policy and Order, to Wealth and Power, it is *then,* that the Steps of the Progression become observable: We can see every thing on its growing Hand, and the very *Soul* and *Genius* of the People rising to higher Attempts, and a more *liberal Manner.*"[41] He states his conception more fully in the *Memoirs of the Court of Augustus*: "This is indeed the Circle of human Affairs; and in *this* Round the Fates and Periods of States revolve. Dangers and Hardships produce Bravery and Temperance with the concomitant Virtues: These never fail to *raise* their Masters, set them at the head of Affairs, and load them with Wealth and Prosperity. So far all goes well; everything is on the increasing hand; and it is the most delightful view we can take of Mankind, to look at a great Society in this Situation. But this happy latter State lasts not many Ages, untill Riches and Grandeur, the Fruits of Virtue, unnaturally destroy their Parents, and wear out that Spirit in a Nation which acquired them their Honours and Power."[42] The most desirable point in the development of such a society comes when a constitution has been evolved which still gives the people as much liberty as is consistent with public safety.[43] After this climax in the development come wealth and "a *mean dispiriting Passion,* the Love of Pleasure," to corrupt nations.

But it is the first stages in this progression that primarily concern us. That Blackwell takes no stock in the fictions of a golden age is clear. In the *Letters concerning Mythology,* he quotes Thomas Burnet's rationalized discussion of the golden age in his *Sacred Theory of the Earth* only to remark at the end that "I find it impossible for me to keep pace with this great Genius, while he professes *his full and firm Belief* of the Theory of the Creation as he has described it."[44] His general point of view throughout these letters is that Mythology was the instrument by which primitive men were "tamed" and instructed. It "transformed them from

[41] *Op. cit.,* p. 14.
[42] *Memoirs,* I, 135-6.
[43] *Ibid.,* I, 94.
[44] *Letter* 10, p. 117.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Brutes and Savages into civilized Creatures; and of Lions and Wolves made Social Men.''[45] Thus of Hesiod's Theogony he writes, ''Such was the portentous Tale told by the primitive Sages for the Instruction and Restraint of ignorant barbarous Mortals; rude like them in its Structure, and uncouth and cruel in its Circumstances.''[46] No hint of natural goodness here, nor in the following description of the inhabitants of ancient Italy:

> It was still, in many Places, the Age spoken of by *Orpheus*,
> *When Men devour'd each other like the Beasts,*
> *Gorging on human Flesh*—
> The Subject is dismal, and a particular Description of such horrid Deeds would be odious and shocking; It will be enough to put your Lordship in mind, That our modern *Indians* have not been the only People guilty of the dreadful act of feeding upon their Fellow-Creatures. The same Barbarity is attributed to most Countries, before the *Arts of Life*, reached them and stript them by degrees of their inhuman Customs.[47]

The ''arts of life'' would seem to be antithetic to that naturalness that Blackwell so praises elsewhere, as are also the laws and settled order he praises here: ''And in effect what can there be more glorious among Men than to give Birth to a new State, enlarge Society, and diffuse Liberty and Laws, *The first best blessing of Mortality*, over the savage Parts of the Earth?''[48]

Here is indeed a series of contradictions! Natural man is good and noble, yet somehow he keeps his goodness in reserve until he reaches a certain period in his development. Again, natural man in some very important respects is superior to civilized man, yet somehow laws and settled policy are the ''first best blessings of mortality.'' Finally, ''natural'' goodness must be instilled in man by the ''arts of life.''

The complication increases when one examines Blackwell's use of his sources. That Blackwell was an extremely widely-read and well-equipped Greek and Latin scholar is undeniable. That he was a scrupulous scholar is not quite so certain. In fact, so eager does he seem to have been to combat the current views of the Aristotelian formalists who had linked the names of Homer and Virgil, and, in the words of one of them, had supposed that both Homer and Virgil derived their power ''from the Improvements and Ad-

[45] *Letters*, p. 80.
[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 92-3.
[47] *Enquiry*, p. 265.
[48] *Ct. of Aug.*, I, 108.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

vantages that arise from Learning, from Observation of the Works of eminent Writers, from a greater Comprehension of the Properties in an Epick Poem, and an accurate Knowledge of the Rules of Writing"[49]—so eager, as I say, is he to combat such views that he uses his sources somewhat carelessly, reads into them implications that are not always there, and in general does everything he can to push back toward a state of barbarism the period at which Homer lived. It may be well to note here that the term, barbarism, as Blackwell uses it does not always have the present connotations of cruelty and inhumanity, but is sometimes merely antithetic to "civilization"; thus he speaks of the early Romans as "happily barbarous with respect to the Refinements of Luxury."[50]

An example of Blackwell's method is seen in the following passage. "In most of the *Greek* Cities," he writes, "*Policy* and *Laws* were but just a forming, when *Homer* came into the World. The first Sketches of them were extremely *simple*; taking their Rise from the Exigencies of the rude Way of Life then prevailing. The Tribes were but beginning to live secure within the Walls of their new-fenced Towns, and had as yet neither Time nor Skill to frame a Domestick Policy, or Municipal Laws; and far less to think of publick methods of training up their Citizens: *They lived naturally,* and were governed by the *natural Poise* of the Passions, as it is settled in every human Breast. This made them speak and act, without other Restraint than their own native Apprehensions of *Good* and *Evil, Just* and *Unjust,* each as he was prompted from *within.* These Manners afford the most *Natural* Pictures, and proper Words to paint them."[51] Blackwell gives as his general authority for his first two sentences this statement from Aristotle, "Onomacritus was the first Man who became skilful in framing a Policy," which Blackwell says is in the first book of the *Politics.*[52] The fact that the sentence occurs in Book II, Chapter 12, is not so important as that Blackwell has entirely distorted the sense of the passage, which according to Jowett's translation, is this: "Some persons attempt to make out that Onomacritus was the first person who had any special skill in legislation. . . . But their account is quite in-

[49] Sir Richard Blackmore, *Essays upon Several Subjects* (London, 1716), pp. 39-40.

[50] *Ct. of Aug.*, I, 82.

[51] *Enquiry*, pp. 54-5.

[52] *Proofs of the Enquiry* (London, 1748), p. 22.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

consistent with chronology." To back up the statement that the first sketches of the laws at this time were extremely simple, he quotes a quite general statement which carries with it no implication that it has reference to the time of Homer. This statement is: "The ancient Laws were extremely *simple* and *barbarous*: For the *Greeks* of old went constantly armed, and *bought* and *sold their* Wives one Tribe from another; and that all the remains of the ancient legal Establishments up and down *Greece* are thoroughly *simple,* and adapted to *rude uncivilized* Manners."[53] But here there is still another point involved. This is Blackwell's translation. The phrases, "up and down Greece" and "adapted to rude, uncivilized Manners," are his own additions. He makes a similar addition in the statement which he quotes, in another connection, from Plato's *Republic,* Book X, that Homer "had in a manner *formed* and *disciplined* barbarous Greece,"[54] in which he reads the word "barbarous" into the text. As a further illustration of Blackwell's lax methods, take this passage from the *Enquiry*: "In effect, *Arms* at that time was the honoured Profession, and a *publick Spirit* the courted Character: There was a Necessity for them both. The *Man* who had bravely defended his City, enlarged its dominion, or died in its Cause, was revered like a God: Love of Liberty, Contempt of Death, Honour, Probity and Temperance, were *Realities.* There was, as I said, a Necessity for those Virtues."[55] This statement he supports by a quotation from Plutarch's *Life of Theseus* which describes the state of society *before* the Trojan War.

There is little point, however, in multiplying examples of the inaccuracies of Blackwell. A much more important inconsistency in the use of his source material is his insistence on the goodness and nobility of early man in the face of almost wholly contradictory testimony on the part of his sources. He could indeed find plenty of authority for the naturalness and simplicity of primitive man but there is little praise of his virtue in the passages he quotes. Isocrates, for instance, he cites as speaking of "our first *wild* and *brutal* Way of living."[56] His quotation from Diodorus likewise has: "It is said that the first Men, who appeared in the World lived

[53] *Proofs,* p. 22.

[54] *Letters,* p. 291.

[55] *Enquiry,* p. 53.

[56] *Proofs,* p. 15. Blackwell gives as the source *Oratio ad Nicoclem,* but the passage occurs in the "Nicocles," ΝΙΚΟΚΛΗΣ ΗΚΥΠΡΙΟΙ, ¶3.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

in a wild and disorderly manner."[57] Plutarch, in the passage above referred to, writes, "*Insult* was the Inclination, and *Violence* their Delight; . . . But as for Love to Mankind, Justice, Equity and Humanity, these they thought were commended by the greater part only, because they wanted *Courage* to do an Injury, or were apprehensive of *receiving* one."[58]

It seems clear that Blackwell was approaching his subject with certain well-defined preconceptions about "natural" man and both read those preconceptions into his material and, fairly consistently but not entirely so, maintained them in the face of contrary evidence. This hypothesis seems the more reasonable inasmuch as he himself professed to be considerably surprised at the "contemptible Figure the Beginnings of the human Race make in the Pictures drawn of them by the Ancients."[59] Where then did he get these preconceptions?

The idea of the natural goodness of primitive man was, of course, not a new one in Blackwell's day. Indeed he could have found certain passages in the classics themselves eulogistic enough to suit him. He shows himself, moreover, to be conversant with some of the contemporary travel literature which was full of the praise of the "noble savage"; and as for the idealization of the "innocence" of primitive man in contemporary literature, he was familiar at least with Dryden's "few strokes of that nature" in the *Conquest of Mexico* and the *Inchanted Island,* for he mentions those works in this connection.[60] It is not my purpose here, however, to discuss all of Blackwell's posible sources. I wish to consider the relation of his theories to those of a single predecessor of his—Shaftesbury. Blackwell is well known to have been an ardent admirer of Shaftesbury—"his favourite philosopher," as Ramsay remarks, "whom it was the fashion at the time to admire extravagantly."[61] Tytler writes of Blackwell that "His model of imitation was Lord Shaftesbury,"[62] and Chambers likewise speaks of his imitation of "Lord

[57] *Proofs,* p. 15. From the *Universal History,* Bk. I, Par. 3.

[58] *Proofs,* p. 21.

[59] *Enquiry,* p. 37.

[60] *Enquiry,* p. 24.

[61] *Op. cit.,* I, 292-3.

[62] A. F. Tytler, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Honourable Henry Home of Kames* (Edinburgh, 1814), I, 231.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Shaftesbury, of whom he was a warm admirer."[63] Although these last statements refer more specifically to his style than to his philosophical point of view, it may not be unprofitable to inquire how far the latter has also been modeled upon that of Shaftesbury. Is there any basis in the works of Shaftesbury for Blackwell's conception of "naturall" man?

Shaftesbury's refutation of Hobbes's view of the state of nature as a state of war is well known; his insistence that "there is naturally in every man such a degree of social affection as inclines him to seek the familiarity and friendship of his fellows";[64] his insistence also that "If eating and drinking be natural, herding is so too. If any appetite or sense be natural, the sense of fellowship is the same";[65] and that "In short, if generation be natural, if natural affection and the care and nurture of the offspring be natural, things standing as they do with man, and the creature being of that form and constitution he now is, it follows 'that Society must be also natural to him,' and 'that out of society and community he never did, nor ever can, subsist.' "[66] Shaftesbury concludes that government and society were in no way an invention of art, but were existent among man from the first, and that any previous state when man was not sociably inclined must have been of such short duration that it could not properly be called a "state" at all. The state of nature, he writes, was "not that imperfect rude condition of mankind . . . which some imagine; but which if it ever were in nature, could never have been of the least continuance, or any way tolerable, or sufficient for the support of human race. Such a condition cannot indeed so properly be called a state."[67] In this conception Shaftesbury is followed by Blackwell who speaks of the "rude unhappy Life which Mankind lived in the early Ages of the World, and what is with great Impropriety called their *natural State.*"[68] The idea becomes somewhat distorted, however, in its transition from Shaftesbury to Blackwell. Shaftesbury had said that if man ever existed in a pre-social state it must have been

[63] *Op. cit.*, I, 238.

[64] "Inquiry concerning Virtue and Merit," *Characteristics* (London, 1900), I, 315.

[65] "Freedom of Wit and Humour," *op cit.*, I, 74.

[66] "The Moralists," *op. cit.*, II, 83.

[67] "The Moralists," *op. cit.*, II, 79.

[68] *Letters*, p. 54.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

but "the rough draught of man, the essay or first effort of Nature . . . not in its natural state, but under violence, and still restless, till it attained its natural perfection,"[69] and he supposes that this change to perfection was a natural growth: "Could she [Nature] then rest, think you, in that desolate state before society?"[70] But Blackwell, quite inconsistently assumes that this unnatural natural state existed because the inhabitants of earth were not yet established in towns, governed by laws, and polished by arts![71] The reasoning of Shaftesbury is doubtful enough but that of Blackwell goes far toward justifying Ramsay's description of him as a "learned cox-comb." However he is not thereby hindered from making his periods glow with Shaftesburian ideas of the "social Passions, and noblest affections," which, he tells us, "must prevail in an *Epic-Poem,*" for the heroism which is its subject-matter is nothing other than that "*disinterested Love* of Mankind" which Shaftesbury advocates so ardently in the "Moralists."

Having established the naturalness of the social state, the next step for Shaftesbury was an easy transition. "'Society being founded on a compact,'" he writes, "'the surrender made of every man's private unlimited right, . . . was of free choice, and by a promise.' Now the promise itself was made in the state of nature; and that which could make a promise obligatory in the state of nature, must make all other acts of humanity as much our real duty and natural part. Thus faith, justice, honesty, and virtue, must have been as early as the state of nature, or they could never have been at all."[72] And further, man "is not only by Nature sociable within the limits of his own species or kind but in a yet more generous or extensive manner. He is not only born to virtue, friendship, honesty, and faith; but to religion, piety, adoration, and a generous surrender of his mind to whatever happens from that Supreme Cause or order of things, which he acknowledges entirely just and perfect."[73] While this idea of the inborn goodness of early man does not recur frequently in the pages of Shaftesbury and is indeed often implicity contradicted, yet it offers a striking parallel to Blackwell's ideas of the natural goodness of man. Just

[69] "Moralists," *op. cit.*, II, 79.
[70] *Ibid.*, II, 81.
[71] *Letters*, p. 54.
[72] "Freedom of Wit and Humour," *op. cit.*, I, 73.
[73] "Miscellany IV.," *op. cit.*, II, 294-95.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

as Shaftesbury exclaims that "even rude Nature itself, in its primitive simplicity, is a better guide to judgment than improved sophistry and pedantic learning,"[74] so Blackwell writes that "The Influence of Example and Discipline is, in effect, so extensive, that some very accute Writers have mistaken it for the only Source of our Morals: tho' their Root lies deeper, and is more interwoven with our *Original Frame.*"[75] A sense of right and wrong, Shaftesbury says more than once, is inborn, "a first principle in our constitution and make."[76] In Blackwell this becomes: "*They* [the early Greeks] *lived naturally,* and were governed by the *natural Poise* of the Passions, as it is settled in every human Breast. This made them speak and act, without other Restraint than their own native Apprehensions of *Good* and *Evil, Just* and *Unjust,* each as he was prompted from *within.*"[77]

Shaftesbury devotes a good share of the "Moralists" to picturing the harmony and proportion to be observed in nature. Just so, Blackwell asserts of Nature that "Her *Proportions* are just and invariable."[78] And in the *Letters concerning Mythology,* the "Parent of real Mythology" is pictured as looking alternately at an ideal sphere which represents nature and at a tablet, while a still voice behind her utters "Measure and Harmony."[79]

But Shaftesbury carries the idea of beauty and harmony into the moral realm. Will it not be found, he asks, "that what is beautiful is harmonious and proportionable; what is harmonious and proportionable is true; and what is at once both beautiful and true is, of consequence, agreeable and good?"[80] Moreover, "It has been the main scope and principal end of these volumes, 'to assert the reality of a beauty and charm in moral as well as natural subjects, and to demonstrate the reasonableness of a proportionate taste and determinate choice in life and manners.'"[81] Nothing daunted, Blackwell follows him even here. In the *Letters concerning Mythology*

[74] "Soliloquy," *op. cit.,* I, 215.
[75] *Enquiry,* p. 11.
[76] "Virtue and Merit," *op. cit.,* I, 260. See also I, 261, 265.
[77] *Enquiry,* p. 55.
[78] *Enquiry,* p. 324.
[79] *Op. cit.,* p. 81.
[80] "Miscellany III," *op. cit.,* II, 268-9.
[81] "Miscellany V," *op. cit.,* II, 344. See also I, 279; II, 174; II, 255.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

he speaks of the "Charms of Virtue, and Deformity of Vice";[82] in the *Memoirs of the Court of Augustus* he speaks of people who "lose those Feelings of the Beauty or Baseness of Actions which are the strongest Curbs to Vice, and Incentives to the Practice of Virtues in generous Natures";[83] and in the *Enquiry* he speaks of the "Pleasure which arises from a Representation of *natural* and *simple Manners*: . . . they give us back the Emotions of an *artless* Mind . . . . Innocence, we say, is beautiful; and the Sketches of it, wherever they are truly hit off, never fail to charm."[84]

This idea of the beauty of moral virtue, however, leads Shaftesbury insensibly into a virtual contradiction of his former position. He had said that "faith, justice, honesty, and virtue, must have been as early as the state of nature," but quite clearly an ethical sense of beauty must be an even later acquisition to man than a sense of beauty in the physical world. It requires a nice training in taste and judgment. "Now a taste and judgment," Shaftesbury quite truly says, " 'tis supposed, can hardly come ready formed with us into the world. . . . A legitimate and just taste can neither be begotten, made, conceived, or produced without the antecedent labour and pains of criticism."[85] Without use, practice, and culture, man cannot have the taste which governs his actions, and without reflection and the use of reason he cannot be said to be virtuous.[86]

Is not this, however, the same contradiction, a little less obvious, somewhat less baldly stated or perhaps more adroitly concealed, that we have already seen in Blackwell? In certain passages in the pages of each, virtue and nobility are regarded as "natural" to man, existent even in a state of nature—for Shaftesbury still uses the term although he has nominally discarded it. In other passages they are regarded as the product of a relatively high degree of culture. Blackwell was perhaps only too devoted a disciple of Shaftesbury!

[82] *Op. cit.*, p. 301.
[83] *Op. cit.*, I, 129.
[84] *Op. cit.*, p. 24.
[85] "Miscellany III," *op. cit.*, II, 257.
[86] *Ibid.*, II, 257; see also I, 253; II, 143. See Esther A. Tiffany, "Shaftesbury as a Stoic," *PMLA*, XXXVIII, 664 ff.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

VARIATION IN THE LATIN DACTYLIC HEXAMETER

By R. B. STEELE
Vanderbilt University

I. HEXAMETER.

This study was undertaken for the purpose of determining with some degree of completeness the uniformity of occurrence for the different schemata in the first four feet of the Latin dactylic hexameter. These, sixteen in number, range from DDDD to SSSS with fourteen intermediate variations. After computing the occurrences for a few sections of a few books, it was seen that variation rather than uniformity was the rule, and the title of the quest was changed accordingly. It must be admitted that there is a slight element of uncertainty about all figures presented, as the computations are based on the readings of some editor, and would vary slightly with any other editor selected. Still the data gathered may be taken as representing in general terms, if not in minutiae, the work of each author studied. Only a part of Silius was examined, but the story told by this is the same as of all the other portions studied, and completeness could give nothing of value. The figures for Cicero differ slightly from those given by Professor Peck, *T.A.P.A.* XXVIII.62, for all his hexameter lines, the original poetry showing but few variations from the translations.

There may be 20,922,789,888,000 permutations of the schemata, so that if the elements had been perfectly plastic and the probability of using each schema equal, no two poems might be exactly parallel. But the occurrence of syllables containing long vowels or diphthongs, as well as of their metrical equivalents heavy syllables "long by position," makes it easier to form spondees than dactyls, for the short syllables in the latter are dependent on quantity alone. As a result the heavier foot is predominant in most Latin dactylic hexameter poetry.

Even in Ovid and Valerius Flaccus, who have more dactyls than spondees in the first four feet, the long syllables are predominant in the line. If there are 55 per cent of dactyls, each ten lines have

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

88 long syllables and 64 short, if we count the sixth foot as uniformly a spondee. Given 45 per cent of dactyls the numbers are 92 and 56. As the latter is very nearly the norm, the mass is noticeably heavy. However, investigation concerns itself with the foot rather than the permutations of the long or short syllables independently, and the schemata for the first four feet are taken as the basis of comparison. For the purposes of discussion and comparison it may be held that the fifth foot is a dactyl and the sixth a spondee or an equivalent, though there are a relatively few lines in early writers, as 42 in Catullus, 31 in Lucretius, and 32 in Vergil, in which the fifth foot is a spondee. Such spondaic lines do not affect the schemata; yet computations based on the first four feet only do not in all cases show the exact proportion of the different feet in the entire line. If the dactyls and spondees are equal in the first four feet of a line, the addition of one to each will not affect the equality. But if, for example D:S::40:60 in each 25 lines the addition for the fifth and sixth feet would change the numbers to 43 1/3 :56 2/3, and the smaller one of the numbers is, the greater the relative increase; e.g., 30 would become 36 2/3, and 20 would become 30.

After the time of Catullus there is rather a marked tendency to make the first foot a dactyl, thus giving the dactylic key-note at the beginning of the line. As may be seen from the table, beginning with Horace, the range is from about 55 to more than 80 per cent. With this preferred initial dactyl most Roman writers added more spondees than dactyls, thus giving the preponderance to the former foot. The line as a whole may be represented D (preferred) D/S D/S D/S D S. On the assumption that metrical development is along the line of least resistance, our study is of the manner in which Latin poets resolved D/S into D or S, with D preferred in the first foot and required in the fifth, and with spondees formed more easily than dactyls.

The percentage for dactyls is low in Ennius, Catullus, and Cicero, as if the writers were following the line of least resistance without regard to metrical weight. We find in Macrobius VI. 4,6: *Ennius in Scipione,*

Sparsis hastis longis campus splendet et horret;

and Servius in *Aen.* XI. 601: *Est versus Ennianus vituperatus a Lucilio dicente per irrisionem eum debuisse dicere 'horret et alget.'* The last words indicate that it was the content, and not the spondaic

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

phases of the line that were criticised. This is also probably true of the remark of Horace in regard to Lucilius in *Sat.* I. 4,11: *cum flueret lutulentus*; and *id.* I. 10,1: *Nempe incomposito dixi pede currere versus Lucili.* That metrical features were passed unnoticed by Horace is also indicated by his quotation, from Ennius, of the ideal metrical group, *id.* I.4,60:

> Postquam discordia taetra
> Belli ferratos postis portasque refregit,

the last line having SSSS. However, the words of Ovid in *Am.* I.15,19: *Ennius arte carens,* may have reference to the meter, even though, along with the frequency of SSSS, are found verses of the other extreme, DDDD, as

> O Tite tute Tati tibi tanta tyranne tulisti,

and

> At tuba terribili sonitu taratantara dixit.

In one respect at least Ennius showed greater flexibility than did later writers, for the pronunciation of *s* had not become stabilized, and he could write such lines as

> Postquam consistit fluvius, quist omnibu' princeps,

and

> Indo tuetur ibi lupu' femina conspicit omnis.

As SSSS has a fair rank among the schemata of Juvenal, he probably had in mind the thought only of Cicero when he wrote in *Sat.* X. 122 ff.:

> 'O fortunatam natam me consule Romam'
> Antoni gladios potuit contemnere, si sic
> Omnia dixisset.

But whatever may have been the real animus of the criticisms, the lines quoted expressed Roman *gravitas* in fullest measure, as is also reflected in the verse of Ennius:

> Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque.

There are a few arrangements in special passages worthy of a passing notice. In Catullus 64 there is a refrain in 327 *et al*:

> Currite ducentes subtegmina, currite fusi,

giving a double metrical chiasmus, DSSDDS, and with the dactyls

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

much more in evidence than in the average for the entire poem. The eighth *Eclogue* of Vergil has two antithetic refrains, each occurring eight times. The first of these in 21 *et al.*:

Incipe Maenalios mecum, mea tibia, versus,

has the form DDSDDS, the last group repeating the first, and giving four dactyls to two spondees. The second refrain, 68 *et al.*:

Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim,

shows DDDDDS, a complete dactylic line with the exception of the last foot. Each section of the poem closes with a line metrically the same as, or only slightly changed from, the preceding refrain,

61: Desine Maenalios, iam desine, tibia, versus;
108: Parcite, ab urbe venit, iam parcite, carmina, Daphnis.

Similar to these lines is the old woman's prophecy in Horace *Sat.* I.9,31 ff.:

Hunc neque dira venena nec hosticus auferet ensis
Nec laterum dolor aut tussis, nec tarda podagra;
Garrulus hunc quando consumet cumque; loquacis,
Si sapiat, vitet, simul atque adoleverit aetas.

This also emphasizes the dactyls and shows the possibility of creating masses of poetry in which the dactyls would be more prominent than in most Latin hexameters. In contrast with these strongly marked dactylic refrains is the jingle forming part of the line in Horace *Sat.* I.6,6: *ut me libertino patre natum,* repeated in *ib.* 45 and 46:

Nunc ad me redeo libertino patre natum,
Quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum,

and with a variation in *Epp.* I.20,20:

Me libertino natum patre et in tenui re.

There are two phases in the variation of metrical material that are of more than passing interest. These are (1) the lack of metrical parallelism in successive lines which have the same rhetorical note, and (2) a similar lack in the simile and its base.

(1) Schemata which are freely used by an author are not infrequently repeated in successive lines, as in Vergil *Georg.* III.315 ff.:

Horrentesque rubos et amantes ardua dumos;
Atque ipsae memores redeunt in tecta, suosque
Ducunt, et gravido superant vix ubere limen.
Ergo omni studio glaciem ventosque nivales.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The metrical unity in the passage may be taken as a reflection of its logical unity, but in contrast with this and many other similar passages are those in which the two are not in harmony. Only a few examples need be given from the mass of examples in which the logical unity is indicated by the first word, as Catullus 64, 19 ff.:

> Tum Thetidis Peleus incensus fertur amore,
> Tum Thetis humanos non despexit hymenaeos,
> Tum Thetidi pater ipse iugandum Pelei sanxit.

In this the first two lines are DSSS, while the third is the reverse, DDDS. Another similar passage from the same poem does not have any two lines the same, 39 ff.:

> Non humilis curvis purgatur vinea rastris,
> Non falx attenuat frondatorum arboris umbram,
> Non glaebam prono convellit vomere taurus,

the last line having a dactyl only in the fifth foot. Similar to this is the first in 257 ff.:

> Pars e divolso iactabant membra iuvenco,
> Pars sese tortis serpentibus incingebant,
> Pars obscura cavis celebrabant orgia cistis,

while a dactyl or two is worked into the other lines. A like variation is found in Ovid *Met.* I.8 ff.:

> Nec quicquam nisi pondus iners congestaque moles
> Non bene iunctarum discordia semina rerum.
> Nullus adhuc mundo praebebat lumina Titan,
> Nec nova crescendo reparabat cornua Phoebe,
> Nec circumfuso pendebat in aëre tellus,

the five lines of which give as many schemata. It will suffice to give another example, and that from the last book of the *Thebaid* of Statius, who was one of the most careful metrical mechanicians of them all, XII. 805 ff.:

> Arcada quo planctu genetrix Erymanthia clamet,
> Arcada, consumpto servantem sanguine vultus,
> Arcada quem geminae pariter flevere cohortes.

All these lines begin with the dactyl *Arcada,* but each has its own development.

(2) The metrical development of similes is interesting, and the absence of metrical symmetry is in some instances very noticeable. A good illustration of this is Catullus 64, 265 ff.:

> Quae postquam cupide spectando Thessala pubes
> Expletast, sanctis coepit decedere divis.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

There is then given a detailed simile of the waves of the sea, and this is followed by

> Sic ibi vestibuli linquentes regia tecta
> Ad se quisque vago passim pede discedebant,

in which the dactyls and spondees are evenly balanced, although in the eight lines of the simile there are nearly 61 per cent of spondees including the four-spondee line 272:

> Quae tarde primum clementi flamine pulsae.

The comparison of Orpheus to the nightingale in Vergil *Georg.* IV. 507 ff. gives four lines to one and five to the other. Only one line in each begins with a dactyl, and only one in each has the same metrical movement:

> Flevisse et gelidis haec Evolvisse sub antris:
> Amissos queritur fetus, quos durus arator,

the remainder showing six different schemata. The carefully developed simile in *Aen.* IV. 441 ff. gives six lines with four schemata to the mountain oak, and three to Aeneas, the type DSSS occurring twice in the first part and once in the second. As this simile sets forth the effects of Boreas, by its side may be placed the one by Silius Italicus in XIV. 119 ff.:

> Incumbit bello ac totam per proxima raptim
> Armorum effundit flammato pectore pestem.
> Non aliter Boreas, Rhodopes a vertice praeceps
> Cum sese inmisit decimoque volumine pontum
> Expulit in terras, sequitur cum murmure molem
> Eiecti maris et stridentibus effremit alis.

The first two lines show SSSS while the remainder have four different schemata, an indication that no effort was made to have the two parts symmetrical.

The two similes in Lucan I. 129-157 are especially noticeable because of their rhetorical development. After the introductory statement:

> Nec coiere pares: alter vergentibus annis,

six lines describe Pompey, and seven the oak. Then comes a line parallel to the first:

> Sola tamen colitur. Sed nec in Caesare tantum;

then seven applied to Caesar and the same number to the thunderbolt. In the entire passage eleven of the schemata are used, and

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

with the exception of two SSSS, applied to Pompey, and possibly a reflection of his inertness, the two portrayals are metrically practically the same in the relative proportion of dactyls and spondees. There does not seem to have been any effort made to bring about a parallelism of the schemata in the simile and in the base, the lines in these differing metrically as in other sections.

What results were obtained by different writers in working out the formula D (preferred) D/S D/S D/S D S? In the use of initial D the extremes are Ennius, Cicero, and Catullus on the one hand, and Ovid and Valerius Flaccus on the other, with Horace and Juvenal rather near to the former group, and Lucretius, Columella, and Statius to the latter. The other writers are within the limits of 60 to 70 per cent. Final S is much more prominent in Ennius, Catullus, and Cicero, and is emphasized more by the other writers, excepting Vergil in the *Eclogues*, Columella, and the dactylic group. In the grouping of the two feet the *initium a quo* as well as the *terminus ad quem* is worthy of study. The table shows that DS, as an easier formation, is throughout much more in evidence than is DD, and SD a little more so than is SS, excepting in a few of the earlier writers. Cicero is nearer the norm, and next are Horace and Silius Italicus. The rank of final DD, which would give DDD in the line, is uniformly low, Cicero and Silius having this ending least of all. Next in order come SD, DS, and SS, and here Cicero and Silius are at the head of the list. Before the necessary D of the fifth foot SS and DS can be formed more easily than either SD or DD. In this respect the usage of Lucretius[1] is worthy of note; for, while his poem as a whole shows the endings in this order, Book I has the schemata in regular order from DDDD to SSSS, with the exception of DSSD (7) and SSDS (9). Ovid and Valerius Flaccus have the first eight schemata in the upper register, applying this designation to indicate those with initial D, and Statius also, with the exception of SDSS (8), DDDD being eleventh. Lucretius, Vergil, Manilius, and Lucan show the same general features, while Columella, although professing to supplement the work of Vergil, stands nearer to the *Eclogues* than to the later works. While there are general resemblances, there is no complete agreement. The three works of Vergil, as shown by the

[1] See Merrill, W. A., "The Lucretian Hexameter." *University of California Publications*, V, 253-296, 297-334.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

table, agree only in the use of SDDS (9), and two other schemata low in the scale, SSDD (14) and SDDD (16). Not only are the works of Vergil different in the use of the schemata, but different books of the same work, and different sections of the same book show equal divergences. The sum of the rankings is 47 in the six books of Lucretius, while it is 64 for the *Aeneid*, 47 for the *Georgics*, and 102 for the *Eclogues*. The percentages given for the *Aeneid* by Rönström[2] range from 7 to 12 for the different schemata, giving 156 out of a possible 192. The *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, carefully as it was developed from a metrical standpoint, shows 49 rankings, Valerius Flaccus 53, Statius 59. There is the same story for all the authors examined, and nowhere is there complete correspondence between the parts and the whole. Given the data in any work, book, or section, we cannot by multiplication get the schemata for larger units, nor can we by division of the larger get the facts for the smaller.

We may compute the average or fictitious mean for the different schemata, but this gives no really existing metrical unit, and merely enables us to make a hypothetical simplification of the problem. For average we may put the word percentage and the conclusion will be the same. In Lucretius there may be 1 per cent of SSDD and 20 of DSSS, but the figures show only that there are these percentages in a varying mass and reveal nothing in regard to occurrences in smaller groups.

The conditions are the same with respect to the percentage of dactyls and of spondees in different groups. In the schemata the range is from 100 per cent dactyls, DDDD, to 100 per cent spondees, SSSS, in single lines. As the number of lines increases, the average, a non-existing abstraction, becomes less for each. Each author has his averages, but these are obtained from books or from sections in which the averages differ. The spondee is the predominant foot for Vergil; yet in the seventh and tenth *Eclogue* it is but slightly above 50 per cent, and in the eighth and ninth it falls below. In the eighth, if we count but one line in each refrain, the spondees fall to 44 per cent; if all are counted, to 48. Horace *Epp.* I.19 falls to 47 per cent of spondees, and *Sat.* II.6 is still more interesting. In the first 58 verses the spondees are in a majority. Then follow 18 lines in which the two feet are evenly balanced. The

[2] Rönström, T. O. J., *Metri Vergiliani Recensio*, Lundae, MDCCCXCII.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

dactyls come to the front with 55 per cent in the remainder—the story of the city and the country mouse.

The *Thebaid* of Statius is one of the best illustrations of this phase of metrical variation. In short sections the successive predominance of each foot is quite regular, as if the desired rhythm for short groups was DSDSDS, starting with dactyls, falling to spondees, moving in symmetry onward. Writers whose preference for one of the feet is apparent have occasional sections in which the other foot prevails. Even where the preferred foot is retained, the percentages often widely vary. Sections of thirty lines each in Book IV of Lucretius vary from 54 to 66 2/3 per cent of spondees which, in Silius Italicus, rise as high as this, and sink as low as 50 per cent. Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* shows about the same range for his dactyls, while that of Valerius Flaccus is from 47 1/2 to 61 per cent. The works of Horace and of Juvenal are good fields in which to study this phase of variation, as the different poems as well as shorter sections show equal variety.

The increase of dactyls from about 45 per cent in the mass to about 55 required the substitution of 20 short syllables for ten long ones in each 25 lines, thus giving an increase of ten syllables and a little more room for variety in expression. This meant for the *Metamorphoses* the addition of approximately 9,600 short syllables and half that number of syllables to the length of the poem. If the comparison were made with Catullus, rather than with the norm, the numbers would be nearly doubled. Either comparison would show a utilization of dactylic material far beyond the range of earlier writers. His art can be seen in some details. He shows more skill than does Vergil in the use of *-que,* and has a relatively larger number of occurrences of *-ere* in the third person plural of the perfect indicative. His vocabulary is richer in pronouns, as *ego,* the datives *mihi, tibi,* and *sibi,* and some of the possessives. Some particles, as *adhuc, modo, quoque,* and *tamen* are evidently emphasized for metrical purposes, and this fact will explain the free use of the preposition *sine.* Valerius Flaccus emphasizes some of these words as well as others, as *pariter* and *qualiter.* He appropriates or adapts many a metrical piece from Vergil, but often changes the rhythm. Some of the adaptations show more dactyls than does the model in Vergil, as II.209: *Aen.* II.199:

> Hic aliud Venus et multo magis ipsa tremendum:
> Hic aliud maius miseris multoque tremendum;

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

some have the same number, as I.193: V.77:

> Ipse ter aequoreo libans carchesia patri:
> Hic duo rite mero libans carchesia Baccho;

and others have less, as I.105: IV.358:

> Visi laude canunt manifesto in lumine Fauni:
> Detulit; ipse deum manifesto in lumine vidi.

The method of Statius is similar, as he sometimes transfers little snatches of song, as *"Illi indignantes," Theb.* I.133: *Aen.* I.55, and also freely adapts both words and meter; e.g., *Theb.* I.303 f.: *Aen.* IV.238 f.:

> Paret Atlantiades dictis genitoris et inde
> Summa pedum propere plantaribus inligat alis:
> Dixerat. Ille patris magni parere parabat
> Imperio; et primum pedibus talaria nectit.

Although the schemata are ever changing, yet illustrations and comparisons are interesting as indications of variations in similar fields. The Invocation in the *Aeneid* I.8 ff.:

> Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso
> Quidve dolens, regina deum tot volvere casus
> Insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores
> Impulerit. Tantaene animis caelestibus irae?

has the same end in view as the introductory lines of the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid:

> In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas
> Corpora. Di coeptis—nam vos mutastis—et illac
> Adspirate meis, primaque ab origine mundi
> Ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen.

Vergil has nine dactyls to Ovid's eight, has three lines DSDSDS, while all of Ovid's are different, and once has SDDD over against DSSS in Ovid. Vergil might have surpassed Ovid in the use of dactyls but this was an aim of Ovid, and he succeeded by a more artistic association of words and a conscious use of dactylic material.

II. ELEGY

Roman elegy is more limited than the epic, and the problem so far as the hexameter line is concerned is the same. Eight works of Ovid[3] have the first eight schemata in the upper register the same as the *Metamorphoses*, and the variations (66) are similar. Tibul-

[3] *Amores, Ars amatoria, Remedia, Heroides, Epistulae, Fasti, Tristia,* and *Epp. ex Ponto.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

lus differs in one respect, as DDDD (13) changes places with SDSS (8). In Propertius DSSS (1) and SSSS (7) rank high and DDDD (14) and DSDD (12) low, an indication of a marked preference for the ending SS instead of DD. Catullus emphasizes the spondees. Seven of the first eight schemata end SS or DS, but DSSD is fourth and DDDS eleventh.

The general structure of the elegiac stanza was already fixed by the time of Catullus, and although there were some refinements introduced in the choice of words for the close of the pentameter, the mould quantitatively considered remained the same from first to last. With four long and four short syllables in the ending of the pentameter, there may be 13 long and 18 short syllables in the stanza if the remaining feet, excepting the last of the hexameter, are dactyls; or, if spondees, there are 19 long and six short syllables. The limits would be 60 and 24 per cent short syllables. This suggests a prevailingly heavy group, and especially in view of the fact that only two spondees in the stanza would give more than 50 per cent of long syllables.

As the ending of both lines of the stanza is stereotyped, the data obtained from other parts of the line give a fair basis for the comparison of different elegiac poems, but not for the determination of the entire number of dactyls and spondees which an author was compelled to marshall in the composition of any poem. Take as an illustration Catullus 85:

> Odi et amo. Quare id faciam, fortasse requiris.
> Nescio, sed fieri, sentio et excrucior.

Both lines begin with a dactyl and both have the stereotyped ending, so that the percentage of dactyls is different from that in the basis assumed for comparison. In all similar cases there must be five spondees in the stanza to put the two feet on an equality. The difference between the conventional comparison-basis and the complete lines can also be seen from the Introduction to Ovid's *Amores*:

> Qui modo Nasonis fueramus quinque libelli
> Tres sumus: hoc illi praetulit auctor opus;
> Ut iam nulla tibi nos sit legisse voluptas,
> At levior demptis poena duobus erit.

This gives 58 per cent of spondees for six feet, but only 45 for the entire lines, neither one indicating 60 per cent of long syllables.

The long syllables equalled the short in the close of the penta-

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

meter, so that there was no need for the conservation of dactylic resources in order to complete the line. The typical ending of the hexameter was also fixed, so that the problem for the writers of elegy was the solution of the formula D (preferred) D/S in terms of D or S.

The elegies of Catullus, 65-68, have 161 hexameters and the remainder, 69-116, only 169, and the relative ranking and percentages for the different schemata in the individual poems are without value. Taken in the mass the rank of 12 of the schemata is different in the two sections. The longer elegies, in the pentameter, have the first two feet in order DS, SS, SD, and DD; in the shorter DS and SS change places. Propertius has DS, SD, SD, and SS. Tibullus is original in having D last with a low percentage. Ovid regularly emphasizes the easier formation DS instead of DD, but has no fixed per cent or ranking for SD and SS.[4]

So varied is the material that certain variations may seem to be accidental. The tables given by Radford[5] are good illustrations of the wide variability of the schemata. In the fifteen pieces for which data are given DDDS, DDSS, and DSSS are the only three that appear in all the works, and in rank the first ranges from 3 to 11, the second from 1 to 6, and the last from 1 to 7. Omitting instances of non-occurrence, each schema holds an average of 6 3/4 positions in the ranking. In the matter of percentages the widest variation is in DSSD from 0 to 35.7 per cent. DDDS ranges from 3.1 to 10.4 per cent, DDSS from 5.2 to 20, and DSSS from 6.2 to 25. A comparison of limited pieces shows only the extent of the variations. The *Ciris* and Ovid *Met.* VIII.1-151, containing the same story have DSSS first, as have most poets, and SSSD eleventh, a low rank, as in all writers. Ovid has 86 per cent of the schemata in the upper register; the *Ciris* nearly 67, indicating a fundamental difference in the development of the schemata.

[4] Radford, Robert S., "Tibullus and Ovid," *American Journal of Philology*, XLIV, 314.

[5] *Loc. cit.*, p. 306.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

A. BANK.

		Ennius	Catullus lxiv	Cicero *Translations*	Horace	Persius	Juvenal	Silius Italicus I, X-XII	Lucretius	Vergil *Ecl.*	Vergil *Georg.*	Vergil *Aen.*	Manilius	Columella	Lucan	Statius	Ovid *Met.*	Valerius Flaccus
	dd	11	16	15	16	13	15	16	13	13	15	15	15	11	16	11	8	8
DD	ds	16	9	6	8	6	9	11	5	7	6	6	7	5	7	4	6	3
	sd	12	8	11	12	9	10	12	8	6	10	10	10	5	9	7	3	6
	ss	5	3	2	4	2	2	4	2	1	3	2	2	1	3	3	1	2
	dd	15	14	15	13	7	12	13	10	8	12	12	12	8	12	6	7	7
DS	ds	6	4	7	3	4	3	5	3	3	2	3	3	2	2	1	5	1
	sd	6	6	10	6	5	5	7	6	4	5	9	9	4	6	5	4	4
	ss	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	3	1	2	2	5
	dd	13	15	14	15	15	14	15	15	16	16	16	16	14	15	15	12	13
SD	ds	8	10	5	9	12	8	8	9	9	9	9	6	9	8	10	11	10
	sd	10	13	9	10	10	7	10	11	10	11	11	11	9	10	12	10	12
	ss	2	2	4	2	3	4	2	4	5	4	4	4	7	4	8	9	9
	dd	13	13	13	14	16	16	14	16	14	14	14	14	16	13	13	16	16
SS	ds	2	7	8	7	11	6	6	12	12	8	7	8	12	5	9	13	10
	sd	9	11	12	11	13	13	9	14	15	13	13	13	15	14	16	15	15
	ss	1	5	3	5	7	11	3	7	11	7	5	5	13	11	14	14	14

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

B. PERCENTAGES.

dd init	18.2	19.1	24.3	21.4	27.7	22.8	19.6	30.3	30.8	25.0	25.4	24.5	34.8	23.0	30.4	39.3	33.5
ds "	24.3	30.3	28.4	33.4	41.2	36.1	44.0	40.8	34.2	38.6	35.1	37.2	42.0	40.0	42.0	42.5	49.5
sd "	23.4	23.5	24.2	23.9	19.2	23.8	19.1	17.6	20.4	20.6	21.1	22.5	16.7	21.0	15.8	12.5	11.2
ss "	34.1	27.1	23.1	21.3	11.9	17.3	17.3	11.3	14.6	15.8	18.4	15.7	6.4	16.0	11.8	5.7	5.8
d "	42.5	49.4	48.5	54.8	68.9	58.9	63.6	71.1	65.0	63.6	60.5	61.7	76.8	63.0	72.4	81.8	83.0
s end	64.5	71.9	82.6	66.4	71.7	67.1	83.7	74.5	62.7	71.7	72.7	77.7	66.0	75.9	67.9	55.9	65.0
dd "	15.4	9.3	4.6	11.9	9.1	10.9	4.3	8.0	14.5	10.0	10.1	7.2	11.2	8.4	14.5	16.0	12.9
ds "	24.1	28.1	26.3	26.8	23.1	27.1	20.3	25.4	25.6	28.9	29.8	29.2	28.0	35.5	35.7	24.5	37.9
sd "	20.1	18.9	12.8	21.6	19.2	22.0	12.1	17.5	22.8	18.3	17.1	15.1	22.8	15.7	17.6	28.1	22.1
ss "	40.4	43.7	56.3	39.6	48.6	40.0	63.3	49.1	37.1	42.8	42.9	48.5	38.0	40.4	32.1	31.4	27.1
Dactyls	39.8	35.6	37.4	45.1	44.1	44.1	39.4	44.5	48.4	44.1	44.1	41.9	50.4	43.7	50.2	54.6	53.4
Verses	428	398	627	4082	650	3834	2715	7366	814	2187	9813	4258	436	8052	9747	11958	5583

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

GREEK PARALLELS TO CERTAIN FEATURES OF THE *BEOWULF*[1]

By Albert Stanburrough Cook
Yale University

As an epic poem, *Beowulf* is easily surpassed by the *Odyssey*. The unity of the *Beowulf* depends, it is true, like that of the *Odyssey*, upon the concentration of interest in a single personage, but the variety of adventures in the latter is much more pleasing. In the *Beowulf* woman's love plays no part, while in the *Odyssey* three great types of it are sketched. There are, it is true, two pictures of conjugal felicity in the *Beowulf*, or rather of dignified harmony between a prince and his consort. Hrothgar and Wealhtheow receive their guests with courtesy and tact, and preside over their court in a manner which reminds us of the sweet graciousness and reasonable rule of Alcinous and Arete in the *Odyssey*.

After making allowance for all the differences between *Beowulf* and the *Odyssey*, there is much in the one poem to suggest the other. Like Ulysses, Beowulf is a seafarer. He sets sail with trusted companions, yet is his own best helper. Like Ulysses, he is beset with dangers which require all his skill and fortitude to overcome. Like Ulysses, he returns to his native land, and rules long years in peace and honor. As Ulysses is received at the Phæacian court with song and feasting, so Beowulf among the Danes. Among the hospitable entertainers there is in each case a scoffer: Euryalus taunts Ulysses as Unferth does Beowulf, each taunt being a distinct impeachment of the stranger's ability and prowess. As Ulysses recounts the stirring episodes of his life for the entertainment of his hosts, so also does Beowulf. Nor are the descriptions always unlike. The beginning and the end of a sea-voyage are thus described in the *Odyssey* (2.414 ff.; 15.495 ff., tr. Butcher and Lang):

> So they brought all, and stowed it in the decked ship. . . . And the men loosed the hawsers, and climbed on board themselves. . . . And the wind filled the belly of the sail, and the dark wave seethed loudly round the stem of the running ship, and she fleeted over the wave.

[1] Condensed from a paper written early in 1891, and not hitherto published.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Soon came the throned Dawn. . . . And they cast anchors, and made fast the hawsers, and themselves too stepped forth upon the strand of the sea.

And thus in the *Beowulf* (210-228, tr. Tinker[2]):

The ship was upon the waves, the boat under the cliff. The ready warriors mounted the prow. The ocean-streams dashed the waves upon the beach. The men bore rich armor into the bosom of the ship, splendid war-harness. The warriors pushed off their tight-fitted craft on the willing adventure. So, driven by the wind, the bark, most like unto a bird, sped foamy-necked across the waves, until, about the same hour the second day, the curving prow had journeyed on so far that the sailors caught sight of land, saw gleaming cliffs and lofty hills, broad ocean-headlands. Thus the sea was crossed, and the voyage ended. Then the Weder people went quickly up ashore, and made fast their ship, while their mail-coats and battle-raiment flashed.

In the *Odyssey*, Telemachus thus addresses a stranger (1.169 ff.): "But come declare me this, and tell me all plainly: Who art thou of the sons of men, and whence? Where is thy city, where are they that begat thee? . . . And herein tell me true, that I may know for a surety whether thou art a newcomer, or whether thou art a guest of the house." In the *Beowulf*, the warden of the shore makes a similar inquiry of Beowulf's company (237 ff.): "What warriors are ye, in coats of mail, who come hither, sailing your great ship over the sea? . . . Now I must know your lineage from you, ye false spies, ere ye go further in the land of the Danes. . . . Give ear to my plain counsel: it were best to make known forthwith whence ye are come."

Athene, visiting Telemachus in the guise of Mentes, deposits her lance in a rack at the door (*Od.* 1.129 ff.): "And when they were now within the lofty house, he set her spear that he bore against a tall pillar, within the polished spear-stand, where stood many spears beside, . . . and he led the goddess and seated her on a goodly carven chair." So when Beowulf and his followers lay down their weapons at the palace-gate (325 ff., 491-3): "Weary of the sea, they placed their shields, bucklers wondrous hard, against the wall of the house. . . . Their ashen spears stood together, gray-shafted weapons of the seamen. . . . Then in the mead-hall a bench was made ready for the Geat-men, one and all. Thither the stout-hearted men went to sit in the pride of their strength."

On the same occasion, the feasters are served by an attendant who pours out wine (*Od.* 1.143 ff.): "And a henchman walked to and fro, pouring out to them the wine. . . . Now when the wooers

[2] Here substituted for that by Lumsden, 1881.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

had put from them the desire of meat and drink, they minded them of other things, even of the song and dance: for these are the crown of the feast. And a henchman placed a beauteous lyre in the hands of Phemius, who was minstrel to the wooers." At Hrothgar's court (*Beow.* 494-7), "A thane did service, who bore a chased ale flagon in his hand, and poured out the bright mead. At times a bard sang, clear-voiced in Heorot. There was merriment among the heroes."

The Homeric house is not unlike Hrothgar's palace. The main hall is for assemblage and feasting. Chairs and tables are strewn about the room. The private apartments of the master and mistress, and a number of bedrooms, are remote from this common room. In both the smoke escapes through openings in the roof.

The two epics have still other features in common. In both there is the same pleasure in the rich workmanship of fabrics, weapons, and other articles of use and ornament. In respect to many peculiarities of language and diction they are likewise similar. If the *Odyssey* abounds in compound words, so also does the *Beowulf*. Recurrent epithets are common in both, even where the propriety of their application is not obvious. In both the *Odyssey* and the *Beowulf* longer formulas, apparently prescribed by custom, etiquette, or the traditions of the poet's art, convey to the modern reader an impression of novelty and strangeness. The music of the lyre and of song is the chief diversion in both ages. In the *Odyssey* only the minstrel sings; in the *Beowulf* (867 ff., 2105 ff.) king or warrior sometimes touches the harp, and extemporizes a lay.

Are we to believe, then, that the author of the *Beowulf* was acquainted with the *Odyssey*? This is a difficult question, but one which it would be scarcely safe to answer in the negative. That the Germans of the age of Tacitus had heard of Ulysses, and knew the name of his old father, Laertes, admits of no doubt; on this point we have the explicit testimony of the historian himself. In the third chapter of his *Germania*, he says: "Ulysses, too, is believed by some, in his long legendary wanderings, to have found his way into this ocean, and, having visited German soil, to have founded and named the town of Asciburgium, which stands on the bank of the Rhine, and is to this day inhabited." Tacitus continues: "They even say that an altar dedicated to Ulysses, with the addition of the name of his father, Laertes, was formerly dis-

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

covered on this same spot, and that certain monuments and tombs, with Greek inscriptions, still exist on the borders of Germany and Rhætia." If there be any evidence connecting the Greek with the Germanic epic, such evidence can not be invalidated on the ground that the Germans could not possibly have heard of Ulysses and his deeds. That they had both heard of him and honored him the statements of Tacitus seem clearly to prove.[3]

Some of the similarities between the *Beowulf* and the *Odyssey* have already been adduced, but it may not be out of place to add one or two more of these correspondences. It will be remembered that Beowulf, when dying, had requested that his body should be burned, and a mound heaped over it on the sea-shore (2802-8): "Bid the brave warriors rear a splendid mound at the sea-cape after my body is burned. There on Whale's Ness shall it tower high as a memorial for my people, so that seafarers, they who drive from far their great ships over the misty floods, may in aftertime call it 'Beowulf's Mound.'" This his thanes fulfilled as they were bidden, and the description already quoted is not without its Homeric qualities. For comparison with it I adduce an extract from the last book of the *Odyssey* (65 ff.): "On the eighteenth day we gave thy body to the flames. . . . Therein lie thy white bones, great Achilles. . . . Then over them did we pile a great and goodly tomb, we the holy host of Argive warriors, high on a jutting headland over wide Hellespont, that it might be far seen off the sea by men that now are, and by those that shall be hereafter."

Both poems know of messengers who come out to make inquiry of visiting strangers, and in both the king, on hearing the messenger's report, commands that the travelers shall be welcomed. In the *Odyssey* we are told (4.20 ff.):

> Meanwhile those twain, the hero Telemachus and the splendid son of Nestor, made halt at the entry of the gate. . . . And the lord Eteoneus came forth and saw them, the ready squire of renowned Menelaus; and he went through the palace to bear the tidings to the shepherd of the people, and, standing near, spake to him winged words: "Menelaus, fosterling of Zeus, here are two strangers, whosoever they be, two men like to the lineage of great Zeus. Say,

[3] Cf. Baumstark, *Ausführliche Erläuterung des Allgemeinen Theiles der Germania des Tacitus* (Leipzig, 1875), p. 204: "Die Sage oder Annahme der Anwesenheit des Odysseus in Germanien hat, erstens, diesen speciellen Sinn und Inhalt, dann aber, zweitens, auch den allgemeineren, dass überhaupt in diesem Lande uralte Spuren des Hellenenthums vorkommen. Eine *ara* mit der griechischen Inschrift wenigstens der Namen 'Odysseus' und 'Laertes' hat, ausser der nächsten Bedeutung für die Odysseus-Sage, auch die, dass man überhaupt Griechisches in Germanien finde."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

shall we loose their swift horses from under the yoke?" . . . Then in sore displeasure spake to him Menelaus of the fair hair: ". . . Nay go, unyoke the horses of the strangers, and, as for the men, lead them forward to the house to feast with us." So spake he, and Eteoneus hasted from the hall. . . . So they . . . led the men into the hall divine.

Compare this with the account given in *Beowulf* (331 ff.):

Then a proud warrior asked the heroes concerning their lineage. . . . And he went quickly to where Hrothgar was sitting, old and exceeding white-haired, with his company of thanes; the valiant man went until he stood before the face of the lord of the Danes—he knew the custom of the court. Wulfgar spoke to his friendly lord: "Hither are come across the sea-waves travelers, Geatish men from a far country. Warriors call their chieftain Beowulf. They beg to have speech with thee, my lord." . . . Then spoke Hrothgar: . . . "Make haste, and bid all the band of kinsmen come in together unto us. Say to them, moreover, that they are welcome among the Danish people." Then Wulfgar came to the door of the hall, and announced the word from within: "My victorious lord, prince of the East-Danes, bids me say that he knows your noble lineage, and that ye, as men of stout courage, are welcome unto him hither over the billows of the sea. Now ye may go in unto Hrothgar in your war-array."

Other resemblances will occur to the attentive reader of the two epics. Hrothgar's queen (612 ff.) has something in common with Helen (*Od.* 4.219 ff.; and cf. *Beow.* 640-1, 644-46, 920-4 with *Od.* 4.304-5); and, as we hear Beowulf's boast in reply to the taunts of Unferth (524 ff.), we are reminded of Ulysses' speech (*Od.* 8.165 ff.) in response to the disparaging insinuations of Euryalus.[4] But the apparent kinship between the two epics can not be pressed as respects the men who endow them with their names. Beowulf is not a mere reflection or counterpart of Ulysses. There is another personage mentioned in the *Odyssey* with whom Beowulf has a closer affinity than with Ulysses.

In the Eleventh Book of the *Odyssey* (620-5), Homer introduces Heracles as saying:

I was the son of Zeus Cronion, yet had I trouble beyond measure, for I was subdued unto a man far worse than I. And he enjoined on me hard adventures; yea, and on a time he sent me hither [to Hades] to bring back the hound of hell, for he devised no harder task for me than this. I lifted the hound, and brought him forth from out of the house of Hades.

Since there were a number of legends concerning Heracles, the character we here have in mind may be called the Heracles of the Twelve Labors. If Beowulf is the first knight errant of comparatively modern times, Heracles is the typical knight errant of

[4] Note that the taunts of Euryalus are atoned for by the gift of a choice sword to Ulysses (*Od.* 8.396-416), and those of Unferth by the loan of one (*Beow.* 1455 ff., 1488-91, 1659-60, 1807-12).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

antiquity. The labors he underwent were assumed at the bidding of Apollo, speaking through his authorized representative, the priestess of Delphi. As a partial expiation for sin committed in an access of frenzy, Heracles devoted himself to the service of humanity,[5] and stooped to obey the will of King Eurystheus, the puppet of the jealous Hera, and a man who had wrongfully come into possession of Heracles' own birthright and kingdom. Eurystheus was a weak, timid creature, but Heracles humbled himself to obey the mandates of this evident inferior.[6] Even the Father of gods and men would groan, according to Homer (*Il.* 19.132-3), "when he beheld his beloved son in cruel travail at Eurystheus' hest"; yet not the less does Heracles go on his way, serene and triumphant in his conflict with hell itself, even in the very valley of the shadow of death.

Here, then, is the first point of resemblance between Heracles and Beowulf. Beowulf also encounters peril and hardship for the good of mankind. Beowulf also enters the service of a king powerless to defend his realm against the encroaching and devastating monsters of fen and flood. For twelve years (147) has the country quaked at the name of the destroyer, but, single-handed, Beowulf is ready to offer him battle. And when that sore fight came, he, like the Divine Friend of man, might truly say, "of the people there was none with me" (Isa. 63.3).

The labors of Heracles which bear most resemblance to those of Beowulf are the slaying of the Hydra and the fetching of Cerberus from Hades. These are usually accounted the second and the twelfth, thus recounted by the mythographer Apollodorus:

> The second labor which he imposed upon him was to slay the Lernæan Hydra, or water-serpent. This serpent, having been reared in the Lernæan fen, issued out into the plain, tore in pieces the flocks, and laid waste the country. . . . When he had found the Hydra on a hill near the springs of Amymone, where her cavern was situated, he stopped the horses, and forced her with his burning arrows to leave her hiding-place. . . . An immense crab now came to the assistance of the Hydra. . . . When he had killed the crab, he called Iolaos to his side, who then set on fire a part of the neighboring forest, seared the sprouting heads with the brands, and thus enabled Heracles to strike off the immortal head (2.5.2).
>
> As his twelfth labor, he was bidden to bring Cerberus from Hades. Cerberus had three heads, the tail of a dragon, and on his back the heads of all sorts

[5] Cf. Preller, *Griech. Myth.*, 2d ed. II, 272-4.

[6] Compare the relation between Perseus and Polydektes (Apollodorus 2.4.1-3), Bellerophon and Iobates (*ibid.* 2.3.1-2).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

of snakes. . . . He came now to Tænarus[7] [on the present Cape Matapan], the town of Laconica where is the mouth of the entrance to Hades, and descended by that way. . . . He then asked Cerberus of Pluto, and received permission to lead him away if he could master him without the use of the weapons which he bore. Heracles found him at the mouth of Acheron, attacked him, protected only by his corslet and lion's skin, clasped him hard in his hands, and did not loose his hold, though bitten by the dragon which formed the hinder part of Cerberus. Then, seizing the monster by the throat and choking him,[8] he at length overcame him and returned (2.5.12).

We shall not expect to find every feature of these narratives reproduced in the story of Beowulf. But it will not escape notice that Grendel, like the Hydra, is a denizen of the waters, from which he sallies forth to ravage and destroy, and that when he is wounded to the death, another personification of the same malignant principle appears upon the scene to carry on the work of evil which had already been so long in progress. When one head of the Hydra had been struck off, two sprang forth in its place (*op. cit.*). In Beowulf's combat with Grendel, he has to do with but one uncanny sprite; as he descends to the submarine halls of the demon mother, he is beset by a multitude of the fierce creatures of the sea (1506 ff.):

[7] Cf. Euripides, *Herc. Fur.* 23 ff.; Pausanias 3.25.5.

[8] Cf. the final struggle of Heracles with the Nemean lion, as related in Theocritus (*Idyll* 25). After attacking him with arrows and with his club, he finally slays him by the sheer strength of his grip: "To earth I cast my bow and woven quiver, and strangled him with all my force, . . . till I had strained his shoulders utterly, then lifted him up all breathless—and Hell took his monstrous life" (cf. Apollodorus 2.5.1).

Since the author of *Beowulf* was acquainted with Aldhelm's *De Virginitate* (cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXVIII, 77-82), he might have known lines 1343-6:

Alcides fertur Centauri victor opimus,
Flammea qui pressit latronis flamina Caci,
Quamvis fumosis ructaret flabra loquelis:
Herculis in cripta sed torquet dextera.

These lines clearly refer to the *Aeneid*, for Aldhelm's acquaintance with which see Klaeber, *Archiv*, CXXVI, 40-48, 339-359. The lines which Aldhelm must have had in mind are the following (8.198-9, 251-5, 259-261):

Huic monstro Volcanus erat pater: illius atros
Ore vomens ignis magna se mole ferebat. . . .
Ille autem, neque enim fuga jam super ulla pericli,
Faucibus ingentem fumum (mirabile dictu)
Evomit involvit domum caligine cæca,
Prospectum eripiens oculis, glomeratque sub antro
Fumiferam noctem commixtis igne tenebris. . . .
Hic Cacus in tenebris incendia vana vomentem
Corripit in nodum complexus, et angit inhærens
Elisos oculos et siccum sanguine guttur.

The last two lines clearly indicate the strength of Hercules' naked hands.

With Ovid Aldhelm exhibits less familiarity, but he doubtless knew, and could have pointed out to another, *Met.* 7.409-415; 9.185 (Cerberus); 9.69-74, 192 (Hydra); 9.77-9, 85-6 (the power of Hercules' grip).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Then the mere-wolf, when she came to the bottom, bore the ring-prince to her dwelling, so that he could nowise wield his weapons, brave though he was; for many monsters came at him, many a sea-beast with awful tusks broke his battle-sark—the evil creatures pressed him hard.

Again, Heracles shoots burning arrows at the Hydra, and thus forces her to leave her haunts. So Beowulf, before entering the flood, wounds one of the sea-beasts (1425 ff.):

They saw in the water many of the serpent kind, strange dragons swimming the deep. . . . The lord of the Geats with bow and arrow took the life of one of them, as it buffeted the waves. . . . Straightway he was hard pressed with the sharp barbs of hooked spears, fiercely attacked, and drawn up on the cliff.

In the wrestling-match with Cerberus, Heracles is obliged to forgo the use of weapons. In like manner, Grendel is proof against aught but sheer strength of muscle. Heracles must grip the dog of hell by the throat, and drag him forth with might and main, just as Beowulf must wrench Grendel's arm off at the shoulder. Cerberus must again return to Hades; Grendel does not die until he reaches his home beneath the sea, which accordingly stands for the underworld. Another proof that the dwelling-place of these demons is the counterpart of the ancient Hades is found in the fact that the surroundings are so dismal (1357 ff.):

They dwell in a hidden land, amid wolf-haunted slopes and savage fen-paths, the wind-swept cliffs where the mountain-stream falleth, shrouded in the mists of the headlands, its flood flowing underground. It is not far thence in measure of miles that the mere lieth. Over it hang groves in hoary whiteness; a forest with fixed roots bendeth over the waters. . . . Although hard pressed by hounds, the heath-ranging stag, with mighty horns, may seek out that forest, driven from afar, yet sooner will he yield up life and breath upon the bank than hide his head within its waters. Cheerless is the place. Thence the surge riseth wan to the clouds when the winds stir up foul weather, till the air thicken and the heavens weep.

"Wind-swept cliffs," and these, crowned with forests, overhanging the sea. Are we not reminded at once of the steep cliff of Tænarum, down by which, according to the ancient accounts, Heracles descended to his supreme conflict with Cerberus?

Only in his fight with the Lernæan Hydra is Heracles assisted by his trusty friend, his nephew Iolaos. Only in his fight with the dragon does Wiglaf come to the help of his kinsman, Beowulf. Are these resemblances entirely accidental?

But the likeness between the two heroes can be traced in still another respect. What was the end of Heracles? He had been promised immortality if he should perform all the labors imposed upon him by Eurystheus. Now this was the manner of his death.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

He had wedded Dejaneira, and they were once on a journey. The mythographer goes on to say (Apollodorus 2. 7. 6):

> Taking Dejaneira with him, he came to the river Evenus, by which sat the Centaur Nessus, waiting to carry over travelers for hire. . . . Heracles first crossed the stream, leaving Dejaneira to be ferried across by Nessus. . . . During the passage Nessus laid violent hands on Dejaneira, whereupon Heracles, hearing her cry out, shot Nessus to the heart as he was in the act of setting foot on the shore. As he was about to die he called to Dejaneira, and told her, if she desired a philter to retain the love of Heracles, to preserve the blood which was running from his wound. . . . This Dejaneira accordingly did.

Afterward Dejaneira grew jealous of Iole, a maiden taken captive by Heracles, and bethought herself of securing his love by smearing his garment with the amulet. Apollodorus continues (2. 7.7):

> When the robe had grown warm, and the poison of the dragon had penetrated the skin and begun to corrupt it, . . . he tore off the robe, which clung to his body as if it had grown fast, so that pieces of his flesh were torn off with the garment. . . . He then betook himself to Mount OEta, erected a pyre, and ordered that it should be lighted from below when he had ascended it.[9]

Thus his enemy conquers even in death. Heracles is virtually consumed alive by the fire of the clinging poison. But Beowulf in like manner is poisoned by his dying foe, and survives him not long.

A serious question here confronts us, suggested by the mention of these parallels. How can the Germanic saga possibly be related to the Greek? The answer is not far to seek. In the third chapter of the *Germania*, already quoted above, we find: "They say that Hercules, too, once visited them [the Germans]; and when going into battle, they sing of him first of all heroes."[10] Taking this in connection with what Tacitus says of the altar erected to Ulysses and his father, and of the Greek inscriptions found on the borders of Germany, it would seem warrantable to conclude that the outlines of the myth may have been borrowed, having been orally handed down through the intervening centuries.

---

[9] Cf. Sophocles, *Trach.* 555 ff., 1159 ff.

[10] Cf. Baumstark, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-5: "Der Hercules des Auslandes ist theils reine Übertragung des griechischen, theils entstand er durch Anknüpfung der griechischen Sagen an fremde, indem ausländische Symbole auf den griechischen Heros übertragen wurden, und sein Namen sogar die einheimischen verdrängte; theils verdankt er seinen Ursprung dem Umstand, dass Hercules überhaupt als Grenzwart der hellenischen Stämme, und Schutzgott für jede Erweiterung des griechischen Namens galt, und daher, wo die Hellenen mit Barbaren in Streit geriethen, dieser Kampf des Herakles mit einem fremden Unhold, dem Repräsentanten des Barbarenvolkes, mythisch dargestellt wurde."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

CHAMISSO AS A SOCIAL POET

By Solomon Liptzin
College of the City of New York

The treatment of social problems in the poetry of Chamisso has not been hitherto systematically investigated. It is true that in the nineties attention was called by Oscar Walzel to this phase of Chamisso's work and that a number of later writers include a brief discussion of his poems dealing with the lower classes such as "Die alte Waschfrau" or "Der Bettler und sein Hund."[1] Yet nowhere do we find a detailed analysis of the peculiar position occupied by the aristocratic poet who, as we shall see, almost alone in his age made the despised bourgeoisie the object and the ideal of his lyric muse.

Both the writers of the Romantic Movement and those of the succeeding generation, much as they differed in their attitude towards other problems of their day, were with few exceptions united in a common hatred of the middle class. Against it are directed not only the shafts of a Novalis but also those of a Heine, not only the scorn of a Tieck and a Friedrich Schlegel but also the enmity of a Gutzkow and a Georg Büchner.[2] "Why should a thing like this run about between heaven and earth?" writes Büchner. "Its whole life consists merely of attempts to ward off the terrible monotony of existence. Let it die. It is the only experience it can ever have."

But even though the Romanticists and the writers of Young Germany are united in their antipathy towards the middle class in whom both see the enthronement of mediocrity, of hollow conventionalism, of hypocritical morality, nevertheless they differ in their sympathies, the former taking up the defense of the nobility as the social class which is to reintroduce the long lost ideal state, the latter, under the influence of St. Simonian ideas, championing the cause of the rising fourth estate from which the rejuvenation of a decaying society is to be expected.

[1] *Chamissos Werke*, ed. O. Walzel, 1892, p. 109; ed. H. Tardel, Leipzig, 1907, I, 12; G. A. Alfero, *Adalbert von Chamisso*, Torino, 1924, p. 167.

[2] See H. Lippmann, *Georg Büchner und die Romantik*, München, 1923, p. 75.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Chamisso's inmost nature revolted against class distinctions and class divisions. Though an aristocrat by birth, he nowhere defends the privileges of his own class. In his poem "Der Graf und der Leibeigene," he shows the absurdity of the aristocrat's insistence upon special privileges due to his superior blood. The son of a countess and the son of her housekeeper are interchanged at birth and, even after they grow up, no one can tell which is the nobleman and which the serf. Yet each insists that due honor and obedience be shown to his superior birth. By confronting the two claimants with each other and letting each in bitter earnestness parody the haughty speech of the other, Chamisso clearly wished to indicate that nature knew no distinction between nobleman and serf, that all existing artificial distinctions were the product of a past age. This message was not at all new, but it was astonishing to have it come from the pen of a nobleman. In a number of poems such as "Das Gebet der Witwe" (1831), "Die Verbannten" (1831), or "Vergeltung" (1829) Chamisso takes even a hostile attitude towards the aristocracy. The hero of the last named poem is an executioner whose duty it is to brand and to behead the foes and victims of the established privileged order. Not unlike most of his literary prototypes, he has a beautiful daughter who is loved by a count. Unlike other executioners, however, Chamisso's hero is the foe of the nobility whose hateful work he performs, and the horrible vengeance which he wreaks upon the count whom he discovers asleep in the arms of his daughter and whom he brands on the forehead is intended as a warning to the ruling class by the mistreated commoners.

> Zeuch von hinnen! Dein Erwachen
> Möge den noch glaubend machen,
> Der Vergeltung nicht geglaubt;
> Gott ist mächtig in den Schwachen!

Chamisso's sympathies are decidedly not with the aristocracy but with the bourgeoisie and his picture of the ideal life is, on the whole, that of the good-natured, complacent citizen of the pre-industrial era. In his "Sage von Alexander" (1833) he remarks that he, the poet, has not the slightest desire to be a world conquerer like the Macedonian, that he rather prefers a quiet home, a loving wife, frolicking children, something of the fine arts, and—a little wine. The scion of an ancient distinguished family who until late in life wanders about as a man without a country, with-

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

out a home, without a family, is filled with longing for the simple life and the simple joys of the ordinary German *Bürger*. Indeed, when after many years he does find a pleasant asylum in Germany, his heart overflows with gratitude. Unlike the Romanticists, many of whom dreamed beside their firesides of escape from philistine neighbors to distant countries and remote peoples, he, the far-wanderer, was only too grateful for the quiet and even tenor of his life at Berlin.

> Du, meine liebe deutsche Heimat, hast,
> Warum ich bat, und mehr noch mir gegeben;
> Du liessest freundlich den gebeugten Gast
> Die eigne traute Hütte sich erheben,
> Und der bescheidne kleine Raum umfasst
> Ein neuerwachtes, heitres, reiches Leben;
> Ich habe nicht zu bitten noch zu klagen,
> Dir nur aus frommen Herzen Dank zu sagen.[3]

In spite of a certain romantic melancholy, a sentimental pessimism, Chamisso's attitude towards experience remains genial and sympathetic. It is, on the whole, comparable to that of the jovial, red-cheeked business man or official, who has never moved about in an environment of haste, turmoil, and nervous unrest. The optimism and faith in continual and inevitable progress which have always been part of the philosophy of the middle class find expression in several of Chamisso's poems.[4] He adjures the mob that clamors for immediate gratification of its needs to have patience. Time would right all wrongs. The effort of the masses to hasten the process of change was just as vain as were the measures of the king to retard it. The march of time could neither be accelerated nor delayed. *"Nichts unzeitig! nichts gewaltsam! Unablässig, unaufhaltsam, allgewaltig naht die Zeit."*[5] Reaction and revolution are equally distasteful to him. It is precisely this honest, good-natured, middle-class position which gave him the ideal qualities necessary in an editor of a poetic *almanach* and which enabled him to remain on excellent terms with Romanticists and with writers of Young Germany, with Uhland on the one hand and with Heine and Freiligrath on the other.

Much has been made of Chamisso's poems dealing with the lower classes, and scholars have professed to see in them the modern side

[3] "Berlin im Jahre 1831," Stanza 1.

[4] "Schiller" (1832), "Der alte Sänger" (1833), "Mahnung" (1838).

[5] "Der alte Sänger," lines 6-8.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

of this poet. Yet it is precisely in those lyrics that the wide gulf separating his attitude from the modern one is most apparent. Thus, in the representation of peasant life, Chamisso adheres to the tradition of the eighteenth century as depicted in German literature by Bürger and Voss. Like them, he insists that the peasant is neither a toy in the hands of a higher social class nor an inferior being to be despised by those who thrive on the fruits of his labor.[6] For him, the peasant forms the backbone of a healthy society. He is simple and pious, faithful to the God and the traditions of his fathers. In contrast to reactionary lords and blood-stained revolutionists, he represents sane conservatism. Thus, the brutal soldiers who are sent to Brittany during the French Revolution in order to compel the peasants to abandon their ancient form of worship can effect nothing against their stubborn determination to die for their belief.[7] The brutality of gallant parasites is most evident when contrasted with the devout nature of the peasant. Even if the peasant woman could invoke no other weapon against the tyranny of her lords save the vengeance of heaven, God, the Avenger, was sure to hear the prayer of the wronged widow and death came as a frequent guest into the house of her oppressors.[8]

Nothing speaks better for the noble character of Chamisso than his defence of the peasant class, whose members once razed his ancestral castle and drove him forth from idle comfort into the hardships of exile. He has only words of blessing for the peasants of Boncourt who draw their plows over the fertile fields that but for the revolution might have been his own. It is true that he recognizes the value and the dignity of the peasant's calling. Yet, in depicting individual members of this class, he does not break with the literary tradition which portrayed the worker of the field as a ridiculous boor. Chamisso's peasants are slow-witted, superstitious, very trusting, and hence easily deluded. In sketching these uncouth figures the poet gives his humor full rein. In one poem, entitled "Tue es lieber nicht," the father of a beautiful daughter calls together an assembly of his fellow-serfs to confer upon the question whether his daughter should allow herself to be kissed by the squire, since in the list of duties and obligations which a serf

[6] "Das Riesen-Spielzeug" (1833).
[7] "Die stille Gemeinde" (1838).
[8] "Das Gebet der Witwe" (1831).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

owes his lord, no provision has been made for kisses that are to be given or received. In another poem, "Der Szekler Landtag," the peasants when called together to act in an emergency—the floods ruining the crops—unanimously agree to adjourn for several days in order to think over the proper steps to be taken and upon reconvening arrive at the weighty resolution to do nothing.

Under the influence of his countryman Béranger, Chamisso delves into the depths of society for his poetic characters.[9] However, unlike the French poet whose social outcasts are painted realistically with but little attempt at idealization, he imparts to his humble figures traditional picturesque and sentimental features.[10] Whereas Beranger's beggar is the product of an unjustly organized society, Chamisso's beggar is merely the chance victim of a police edict which by imposing a tax on dogs threatens to rob him of the only living creature that has befriended him. As if the revocation of an edict would remove the tragic elements from a beggar's existence! The poet's criticism is directed against a harsh tax and not against an unjust social order. Indeed Chamisso, who so often raised his voice in protest against the dominant political régime, regarded the regnant social order as on the whole the best possible one.[11]

It is true that in this society, as in all others, there were bound to crop up tragic situations such as the one confronting the old washerwoman who after working happily for many a decade finally becomes too weak to earn her bread.[12] But then would not a

---

[9] Es schallen gut im Liede der Purpur und das Schwert,
Doch hüllt sich oft in Lumpen, der auch ist preisenswert. ("Abba Glosk Leczeka," lines 1-2.)

[10] Compare Béranger's "Le vieux Vagabond" or "Jacques" with Chamisso's "Der Bettler und sein Hund." See also V. Pollak, *Béranger in Deutschland*, Wien, 1908.

[11] See *Chamissos* Werke, ed. J. E. Hitzig, 5 ed., Berlin, 1864, VI, 225. In a letter of August 1831 to De la Foye in Paris, Chamisso writes: "Wir sind von lange her langsam und geräuschlos unablässig vorwärts gegangen, als alles still stand, oder sich unsinnig mühte zurückzugehen, wir haben in der Tat das Mehrste von dem, wonach bei Euch geschrien wird, Kommunal-Gesetz, Gleichheit vor dem Gesetz, eine Nationalarmee, die aus dem Volke hervorgeht, welches in seiner Gesammtheit ohne Ausnahme durch dieselbe geht, wir haben Unterrichts—, Wohltätigkeits-Vereine und Gesetze u. s. w. Wir haben eine Gewohnheit der Rechtlichtkeit, die zu einer andern Natur geworden ist, wir wissen nicht, was Gunst heisst. Wir haben eine väterliche Regierung, Liebe und Zutrauen zu dem Oberhaupte."

[12] "Die alte Waschfrau" (1833), and "Zweites Lied von der alten Waschfrau" (1838).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

charitable collection suffice to relieve all difficulties of this kind? The Stein-Hardenberg reforms had brought about the emancipation of the serfs of the fields. The rise of industry and the substitution of machines for hand-labor would, in his opinion, bring about the liberation of the serfs of industry and the equalization of rich and poor. Chamisso welcomes the new age and the transformations wrought by coal and iron, by the steam-engine and the railroad. His friend and biographer Julius Edward Hitzig tells of him that he called the new means of communication the wings of time and that he looked forward with confident hope to the dawning machine age. "He regarded it as the moral duty of every rich man to devote part of his wealth to further the construction of railroads in order thereby to assist in ushering in the new era."[13] He is among the first Germans to make use of the railroad, travelling in the summer of 1837 on the Leipzig-Dresden route, the first part of which was just then being completed. As early as 1830 he recognizes the poetic possibilities of the new invention. In his poem "Das Dampfross" he describes himself seated on a steam horse travelling westward faster than the sun, so that he can revisit yesterday and the days preceding, the day of his birth and the day of his grand-parents' marriage. Then turning eastward on his iron steed, he is able to outdistance time and to peer into the future. Speeding past our own age, he hears a voice calling unto him:

> Mein Ritter, mein Ritter, du kommst daher,
> Wohin wir gehen, erzähle noch mehr;
> Du weisst, o sag' es, ob fällt, ob steigt
> Der Kurs, der jetzt so schwankend sich zeigt?
>
> Ein Wort, ein Wort nur im Vertraun!
> Ist 's weis', auf Rothschild Häuser zu baun?—
> Schon hatte der Reiter die Feder gedrückt,
> Das Dampfross fern ihn den Augen entrückt.

Chamisso's attitude towards the railroad must be carefully distinguished from that of a Romanticist like Justinus Kerner, who until the last moment of his life lamented the passing of the stage-coach, and a thoroughly modern poet such as Karl Beck, whose poem "Die Eisenbahn," appearing in the same decade as "Das Dampfross," showed a deeper understanding of this important invention. While Chamisso merely gave expression to a poetic fancy and

[13] *Chamissos Werke*, ed. J. E. Hitzig, 5 ed., Berlin, 1864, VI, 145.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

humorously touched upon the prevailing interest of people in stocks and bonds, Beck regarded these commercial papers as the strongest links uniting a divided people.

> Mir sind die Papiere Noten
> Ausgestellt auf Deutschlands Einheit.
> Diese Schienen, Hochzeitsbänder,
> Trauungsringe blankgegossen;
> Liebend tauschen sie die Länder,
> Und die Ehe wird geschlossen.[14]

Chamisso's "Dampfross" in its romantic treatment of a realistic theme is characteristic of the peculiar position occupied by this poet who stands midway between the old and the new and who welcomes the imminent social and industrial changes without wholly comprehending their full import. We today are likely to regard as a naïve dream the optimistic view expressed in his sonnet on Schiller, in which he emphasizes that it is vain to arrest time in its course, that progress is inevitable. We today who know that the birth pains of the new age were not to be avoided may perhaps wonder at this trusting faith of the poet. Yet there is no denying that Chamisso was giving expression to the prevalent attitude among the middle class of that day, an attitude that found expression even as late as the fifties in Freytag's *Soll und Haben*. Chamisso, the nobleman, is the literary exponent of the third estate on the eve of the Industrial Revolution.

[14] Karl Beck, *Gedichte*, 4 ed., Berlin, 1846, p. 20.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

THE EARLY HISTORY OF ARISTOTLE'S *RHETORIC* IN ENGLAND

MARVIN T. HERRICK
Iowa State College

For him was lever have at his beddes heed
Twenty bokes, clad in blak or reed,
Of Aristotle and his philosophye,
Than robes riche, or fithele, or gay sautrye.

If Chaucer's clerk succeeded in borrowing enough money from his friends to buy all the books, he must have been the envy of his fellows, for a score of Aristotelian volumes in the Middle Ages was a magnificent library indeed. Let us assume he was successful. What would he have included in his collection? The books of the *Organon* he surely had, and some of the treatises on natural science; probably the *Nicomachean Ethics,* the *Metaphysics,* possibly the *Politics.* As Chaucer depicts him, the learned clerk is a masterly rhetorician, an adept in all the colors of the art, a worthy student of "Marcus Tullius Cithero." Could he, then, have known the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle? Ardent Aristotelian that he was, we may be sure he would have studied the treatise if he could have procured it. But we are by no means sure that the *Rhetoric* was available to Englishmen of his day.

Perhaps Chaucer's contemporary, the learned and moral Gower, who always relished a display of his learning, can help us. Turning to the seventh book of the *Confessio Amantis,* we read of Alexander's education at the hands of his famous tutor. Rhetoric plays an important part, and Aristotle is eminently fitted for teaching it—no man can tell a tale with such judgment as Aristotle.[1] We do not have to read much farther, however,—not over 1500 lines—before we see that Rhetoric to Gower is the scholastic study of the mediaeval trivium (Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectic), commonly regarded as a division of Logic.[2]

Here we face a curious thing. Aristotle was the Philosopher and Rhetoric one of the Seven Liberal Arts, yet Aristotle's master-

[1] Gower, *Confessio Amantis,* 7.34-9.
[2] *Ibid.,* 7.1507 f.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ly treatment of the subject seems to have remained in obscurity from Roman times until the end of the Middle Ages, at least for Western Europe, with the exception of a few Moorish scholars in Spain. Why? The *Rhetoric's* trail has left small trace to help us.

The Alexandrian scholars who followed Aristotle and his pupil Theophrastus must have known the work, but they evidently kept pretty quiet about it. So did the Romans. Cicero and Quintilian studied Aristotle's *Art of Rhetoric* as well as other rhetorical works of his that are now lost. Beyond these two masters, however, the Aristotelian Rhetoric seems to have made little headway.[3] Boethius (c.470-525 A.D.), the last of the Roman writers, one of the last in the West who studied Aristotle in the original Greek, cherished the hope of translating all the Aristotelian books into Latin. Except for a passage in his commentary on the *De Interpretatione*,[4] where he refers to the *Poetics*, we have no evidence that he was acquainted with Aristotle's critical writings, or that he would have included either the *Poetics* or *Rhetoric* in his translation. After Boethius' death we plunge into the Dark Ages where all trace of the Aristotelian writings, except for the *Organon*, vanishes.

Turning back to the East, we find that Syrian scholars handed on Syriac versions of Aristotle to Arabian scribes. According to Margoliouth[5] Arabic versions of both the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* were in use by the beginning of the tenth century. When the Mohammedans overran Spain they brought their Aristotelian books with them. It was through Spain that the *Rhetoric* first re-appeared in Western Europe.

Meanwhile the Greek text seems to have lived on among Greek scholars of the Eastern Empire. Such an inference is supported by Eustathius, the long-winded commentator on Homer, who taught Rhetoric in his native city of Constantinople during the latter half of the twelfth century. In his commentary on the third book of the *Iliad* he definitely refers to Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. Eustathius was Bishop of Thessalonica when, in 1185, the Normans under

[3] Cicero tells us that Aristotle was little studied at Rome: 'The philosopher [Aristotle] was not known to the rhetorician, inasmuch as he is not much known even to philosophers, except to a very few.'—*Treatise on Topics*, ch. 1. Victorinus, the African rhetorician and grammarian who flourished at Rome c. 350 A.D., refers to Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in his *Ars Grammatica*, but the reference proves little or nothing. See Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, VI, 113.

[4] Boethius, ed. by Meiser, Leipzig, 1880, II, 6.

[5] Margoliouth, *The Poetics of Aristotle*, London, 1911, pp. 77 f.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

William II of Sicily captured the city. The scholar's life was spared, but we wonder if his books were. It is entirely possible that the Normans brought back Greek manuscripts to Sicily.

At any rate, Aristotle in his native Greek dress as well as in Arabic, soon flourished in the West. It is said that the sons of Averroës, the noted Arabian commentator on Aristotle, lived at the court of Frederick Barbarossa.[6] There is a letter ascribed to Frederick II, grandson of Barbarossa, in which the writer speaks of the need for Latin translations of the Greek and Arabic Aristotle. Consequently many authorities have given the brilliant patron of learning in Sicily credit for fostering a Latin translation of all the Aristotelian writings;[7] but we have no means of determining how many books were translated, if any.

Even before the reign of Frederick II, however, Greek texts were beginning to arrive in the West. Soon after Constantinople fell to the crusaders in 1204 we have the introduction of what is commonly known as the "New Aristotle," meaning writings other than the *Organon* which had been studied all through the Dark and Middle Ages.

About the middle of the thirteenth century one Hermannus Alemannus journeyed to Spain and at Toledo, collaborating with Arabic, and perhaps Jewish, scholars, in 1256 produced a Latin translation of the Arabic version of the *Rhetoric*.[8] The *Rhetoric* he did entire. The *Poetics* was too much for him; so he rested content with translating the Arabic commentary of Averroës. Roger Bacon, a contemporary of Hermannus, has only contempt for the result.[9] The *Aristotelis Poetria* of Hermannus was too wretched an affair to be of any real influence; the German scholar apparently knew little Arabic, and the Arabic version was bad enough. Bacon does not specifically mention Hermannus' translation of the *Rhetoric*, but doubtless he had seen both treatises. He speaks of Hermannus' miserable failure with two of the most valuable Aristotelian writings on Logic,[10] and since Bacon thought of

[6] Jourdain, *Recherches Critiques sur l'Age et l'Origine des Traductions Latines d'Aristote*, Paris, 1819, p. 164.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 166 f.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 149-52.

[9] Bacon, *Opus Majus*, ed. by Bridges, I, 101; cf. the *Greek Grammar of Roger Bacon*, Cambridge, 1902, p. 28 (Bacon here is following Boethius).

[10] Bacon, *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, in *Opera Inedita*, ed. by Brewer, London, 1859, p. 473.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Poetry and Rhetoric as parts of Logic, it is highly probable he had the *Poetics* and *Rhetoric* in mind.[11] The learned friar would have none of the Arabic-Latin translations. He maintains that the efforts of Hermannus and of William the Fleming, another Aristotelian scholar of the day, are worse than useless.[12] In fact, if Bacon could have his way, all of the current Latin translations of Aristotle would be burned, for their influence is merely to create error and multiply ignorance.[13]

It is hardly possible to exaggerate the inadequacy of these Latin versions of the Arabic Aristotle, at least as regards the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*. Scholars of the thirteenth century show no more than a perfunctory acquaintance with the contents of the two treatises. Vincent of Beauvais and Albertus Magnus may have known of the *Rhetoric*,[14] but they doubtless had seen an Arabic-Latin version rather than a Greek-Latin. Bacon, however, was not the only scholar of his day who recognized the difficulties in the Arabic treatments of Aristotle. Thomas Aquinas bears the credit for fostering the first Latin translation of Aristotle's works direct from the Greek. Some time before 1273 he invited a scholar, William of Brabant, to turn all of the Aristotelian books into Latin. Furthermore it seems that William accepted the invitation and set to work, translating among other writings the *Rhetoric*.[15] Now this William of Brabant is none other than the same William the Fleming whose efforts Bacon so heartily condemned. It is true, however, that Bacon's condemnation might not have included all of the Aristotelian books translated by William; he might not have seen the translation of the *Rhetoric*. Dante, who probably knew no Greek beyond a word or two, was nevertheless a devoted student of Aristotle. Furthermore he was acquainted with the *Rhetoric*, definitely referring to the treatise on at least two occasions.[16] Dante's references are not perfunctory; he evidently used a good translation, one probably direct from the Greek. Perhaps he used the version prepared by William of Brabant.

[11] See Émile Charles, *Roger Bacon*, Paris, 1861, p. 122 (note).

[12] Bacon, *Comp. Stud. Phil.*, pp. 471-2.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 469.

[14] *Jourdain*, pp. 36-7.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

[16] Dante, *Convivio*, trans. by Jackson, p. 154. *Epistle X*, ed. and trans. by Paget Toynbee, Oxford, 1920; cf. *Rhetoric* 3.14.1.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Following the works of Dante over to England, we again meet Chaucer, and the worthy Gower. As stated above, we cannot be sure that either Chaucer, or any of his fellows, had an opportunity to examine the *Rhetoric*. Nevertheless we find that in 1375 (just about the time Chaucer's clerk flourished) the catalogue of the Oriel College Library at Oxford contained the following heading:

> Sententie super libros Rhetoricorum Aristotelis
> secundo folio omnia per Cobildik precio.[17]

"Cobildik" might mean almost any thing, but here it probably is the name of the donor of this commentary on the *Rhetoric*. Chaucer and Gower may have known something about the treatise after all. Yet if the author of the commentary was no more intelligible than many of the mediaeval Aristotelians, it is entirely possible that one might come away from a reading of the book no better informed than before. The *Rhetoric* seems to have made little or no impression upon Englishmen of Chaucer's day, though there is reason for believing that they had access to it, or at least to some treatment of it. Charles Edward Mallet[18] believes that the English rhetoricians in the late Middle Ages depended upon Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, but he produces no definite evidence to confirm such an opinion.

The time was not yet ripe for the New Learning in England; so let us return to Italy and the new Greek texts that were beginning to arrive from the East. An Italian named Aurispa, having journeyed to Greece (1405-1413), records that he picked up two *Rhetorics* and various works of Aristotle till then unknown.[19] By this time Greek scholars were fleeing to Italy from the Moslem invaders. In 1432 the *Rhetoric to Alexander* was translated into Latin by the famous Filelfo.[20] In 1481 a Latin translation of the *Rhetoric* was published at Venice. In 1495-8 Aldus published his magnificent *Opera Omnia* of Aristotle, but apparently he could not lay hand on the texts of the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*, for these were not included. In 1508-9 he included both in his edition of the *Rhetores Graeci*, the *editio princeps* of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*.[21] The Basel edition of 1531, in which Erasmus had a

[17] *Collectanea* (First Series), ed. by Fletcher, Oxford, 1885, p. 70.

[18] Mallet, *A History of the University of Oxford*, Oxford, 1924, I, 183.

[19] Margoliouth, p. 93.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[21] Cf. Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'Hellénisme à Venise*, Paris, 1875, pp. 104-5, 312.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

share, was the first complete Greek edition of Aristotle to include the two.

The close of the fifteenth century witnessed the real revival of learning in England. Englishmen were now going in increasing numbers to study Greek in Italy, and they brought their new knowledge back with them to England. Under the leadership of men like John Colet, William Graye, Thomas Linacre, William Grocyn, and Bishop Latimer English scholarship began to take definite shape. It is possible that both Linacre and Latimer took part in producing the famous Aldine Aristotle of 1495-8.[22] The only perfect set of this monumental edition that has survived is the one Linacre formerly owned.[23] As we noted, however, the Aldine Aristotle omitted the *Rhetoric*, and there is no evidence that the projected plan for a Latin translation of the Aristotelian books by Grocyn, Linacre, and Latimer took account of the treatise. Apparently the only work actually produced was the *Meteorologica* by Linacre.[24]

By the beginning of the sixteenth century England was not only producing good classical scholars herself, but she was offering inducements for distinguished visitors from the Continent. Writing in 1499 to his friend Robert Fisher in Italy, Erasmus waxes enthusiastic over the admirable opportunities for learning that he finds in England. Erasmus himself was not particularly concerned with Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, or with the *Poetics*. Some years later, however, he was to take part in producing the Basel edition of Aristotle (1531), when he at least mentions the two works in one of his letters.[25] Almost as famous as Erasmus was the Spanish humanist, Juan Luis Vives, who came to England in 1523. After lecturing for a time at Oxford, where he was honored with a degree, he was called to Court, to serve as tutor to Princess Mary until he got into trouble over the divorce of Queen Katherine. He retired to Bruges in 1528. During his stay in England Vives made many warm friends, and he must have exerted a considerable in-

[22] See P. S. Allen, *Linacre and Latimer in Italy*, in the *English Historical Review*, XVIII (1903), 514-17.

[23] See Thomas F. Dibdin, *An Introduction to the Greek and Latin Classics* (4th Ed.), London, 1827, I, 313.

[24] See Sir Thomas More, *Opera Omnia*, Frankfort, 1689, p. 298; cf. Erasmus, *Epistle 1091*. Under William Grocyn Bale has: "Aristotelis opuscula quedam e Greco transtulit." — *Index Brittanniae Scriptorum*, ed. by Reginald Lane Poole, Oxford, 1902, p. 126.

[25] Erasmus, *Epistle 1159*.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

fluence upon his English associates. Now Vives knew the *Rhetoric*.[26] Who knows but he may have brought the book to the attention of his students at Oxford, or discussed the Aristotelian principles with Sir Thomas More and other intimate friends?

The first English rhetorician to interest us is Leonard Cox, a traveler and somewhat of a scholar, who knew most of the great scholars of his day, Erasmus, Melanchthon, and probably Vives. About 1530 he wrote a school book on Rhetoric, based in the main on a work of Melanchthon, but indebted, like virtually all rhetorical treatises of the Renaissance, to Cicero and Quintilian. Early in Cox's little book, however, we come upon the following statement:

> I have partly translated out of a work of Rhetoric written in the Latin tongue [Melanchthon's], and partly compiled of mine own, and so made a little treatise in manner of an Introduction into this aforesaid science, and that in the English tongue; remembering that every good thing, after the saying of the Philosopher, the more common that it is the better it is.[27]

It looks as though Cox had the *Rhetoric* in mind, the chapter where Aristotle discusses the relative virtue of "good things":

> It may be argued that the plentiful is a better thing than the rare, because we can make more use of it; for what is often useful surpasses what is seldom useful.[28]

By 1530 drastic changes were being made in the English schools and universities, but the study of *Rhetoric* was still largely a mediaeval affair. In 1549 Cambridge University appointed a Professor of Rhetoric;[29] he was to use Aristotle's *Elenchi*, Cicero, Quintilian, and Hermogenes, the old standbys. There is no mentions of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*.

The next English rhetorician of importance is Thomas Wilson, whose *Arte of Rhetorique* first appeared in 1553. This first edition is incomplete, however, and the real *editio princeps* is that of 1560. Wilson avowedly follows Cicero and Quintilian. There is no positive evidence that he was acquainted with Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, yet his book bears many an Aristotelian mark. His division into three books (the first on Rhetoric, what it is, the materials, the purpose, etc.; the second on orations, the means of moving the affections, etc.; and the third on diction) he might well have taken from

[26] Cf. Vives, *Opera*, Basel, 1555, I, 392 f.

[27] Cox, *The Arte or Crafte of Rhetoryke*, ed. by Carpenter, Chicago, 1899, p. 42.

[28] *Rhetoric* 1.7 (Translation of Rhys Roberts).

[29] Mullinger, *History of Cambridge*, II, 110-11.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Cicero, but it is Aristotle's division as well. The tripartite division of Rhetoric into demonstrative, deliberative, and judicial also goes back to Aristotle, though Wilson may have got it from either Cicero or Quintilian. Nevertheless there are numerous passages in the *Arte of Rhetorique* that particularly suggest Aristotle, such as: a man should be trained in logic before he seeks profit in Rhetoric,[30] the view of universal justice (the law of nature) and of particular justice (the law of man).[31] Wilson's definition of the deliberative oration runs as follows:

> An oration deliberative is a mean whereby we do persuade, or dissuade, entreat, or rebuke, exhort, or dehort, commend, or comfort any man.[32]

The gist of Aristotle's remarks on the subject is that the "deliberative speaker exhorts or dissuades with a view to the happiness of the persons addressed."[33]

There is one passage in which Wilson makes specific mention of Aristotle:

> If any one shall have just cause to dispraise an evil man, he shall soon do it, if he can praise a good man. For (as Aristotle doth say) of contraries there is one and the same doctrine, and therefore he that can do the one, shall soon be able to do the other.[34]

Turning to the *Rhetoric*, to the opening remarks in chapter 19 of Book 2 we read:

> Let us first speak of the Possible and Impossible. It may plausibly be argued: That if it is possible for one of a pair of contraries to be or happen, then it is possible for the other: e.g., if a man can be cured, he can also fall ill; for any two contraries are equally possible, in so far as they are contraries.[35]

It is true that Aristotle's writings teem with discussions of contraries,[36] but the passage just quoted fits in with Wilson's remarks

---

[30] Wilson, *Arte of Rhetorique*, ed. by Mair, Oxford, 1909, p. 113; cf. *Rhetoric* 1.1.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 32; cf. *Rhetoric* 1.13.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[33] *Rhetoric*, trans. by Jebb, Cambridge, 1909, p. 18 (note).

[34] Wilson, p. 17.

[35] *Rhetoric* 2.19 (Roberts' translation). Cf. *Rhetoric* 1.9: The above are the general lines on which all, or nearly all speeches of praise or blame are constructed. We have seen the sort of thing we must bear in mind in making such speeches, and the materials out of which enconiums and censures are made. No special treatment of censure and vituperation is needed. Knowing the above facts, we know their contraries; and it is out of these that speeches of censure are made.

[36] See the *Metaphysics*.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

so well, and it is so natural for a rhetorician to refer to the *Rhetoric* when he can, that we are tempted to regard Wilson's statement as a direct reference. On the whole a fairly sound case can be made for his acquaintance with Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, though he obviously was much better versed in Cicero and Quintilian.

By this time the New Learning has become firmly established at the universities. Roger Ascham went to Cambridge about 1530. In 1542-3 he writes from the University that the Greek authors are now more popular than the standard Latin poets and historians used to be.[37] Sir John Cheke is the man who is chiefly responsible for the new state of things. As Professor of Greek at St. John's College, Cheke wielded a lasting influence over English scholarship. Ascham writes in his *Schoolmaster* (published in 1570) that Cambridge at his arrival committed the fault of reading the precepts of Aristotle without the examples of other authors, but that Cheke and his colleagues changed all that.[38] Here Ascham has the precepts of Aristotle's *Topics* in mind, but in another place he tells how he, Cheke, and Watson used to compare the precepts of Aristotle's and Horace's *Art of Poetry* with examples from classical tragedy.[39] Sir John Cheke,[40] in fact, offers the first reference to Aristotle's *Poetics* by an Englishman since Roger Bacon passed sentence on the *Aristotelis Poetria* of Hermannus Alemannus. Ascham doubtless owed his knowledge of the *Poetics* to Cheke. For the *Rhetoric*, however, he is indebted to the German, Johann Sturm, an able student of Aristotle and a warm friend of both Cheke and Ascham. In the *Schoolmaster* the author openly acknowledges a heavy debt to his two masters:

> Yet, nevertheless, I myself spending gladly that little that I got at home by good Sir John Cheke and that I borrowed abroad of my friend Sturmius, besides somewhat that was left me in reversion by my old masters Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero, I have at last patched it up as I could and as you see.[41]

Ascham's correspondence is full of references to Sturm's work on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*.[42] When he completed the first book Sturm

[37] Ascham, *Works*, ed. by Giles, London, 1865, I, xxxvii. Cf. Ascham's *Toxophilus*, in *Works*, II, 67-8. Cf. Bale, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, p. 189.

[38] Ascham, *Works*, III, 232.

[39] *Ibid.*, III, 240-1.

[40] See Herrick, *Sir John Cheke and Aristotle's Poetics*, in the *Classical Weekly*, XVIII (1925), 134-5.

[41] Ascham, *Works*, III, 84; cf. III, 215-16.

[42] *Ibid.*, I, 198, 227, 284, 296, 298, 301, 305, 315, 319, 324, 340, 446.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

apparently sent a copy to Cheke, for Ascham writes in 1551: "Sturmius goeth forward in *Rhetor. Aristot.* The first book is sent to Mr. Cheke, which was purposed to me, but I had rather it should be sent to him."[43]

Ascham himself seems to have read the *Rhetoric*. It is hard for him to get away from the current view that Aristotle is the man for Logic and Tully for Rhetoric, but he has the insight to realize that Cicero is greatly indebted to Aristotle for his own ideas:

> The best book that ever Tully wrote, by all men's judgment, and by his own testimony too, in writing whereof he employed most care, study, learning, and judgment, is the book *de Oratore ad Q. Fratrem*. Now let us see what he did for the matter and also for the manner of writing thereof. For the whole book consisteth in these two points only; in good matter, and good handling of the matter. And first, for the matter, it is whole Aristotle's, whatsoever Antony in the second and Crassus in the third doth teach. Trust not me, but believe Tully himself, who writeth so.[44]

That Ascham knew for himself is evident, for more than once he refers to Aristotle's *Rhetoric*.[45] Furthermore he has an illuminating comment on the treatise. In speaking of paraphrasis, its good and bad points, he says that the "Paraphrasis of Brocardus or Sambucus shall never take Aristotle's *Rhetorick* nor Horace *de Arte Poetica* out of learned men's hands."[46] If no commentary or paraphrase could take the *Rhetoric* out of learned men's hands, it follows naturally enough that these learned men must have had possession of it, and that they must have had possession for some years before Ascham wrote, which, in turn, was some years before the *Schoolmaster* was published, in 1570. As regards date of publication, however, we shall have to say that Ascham's *Schoolmaster* contains the first English reference to Aristotle's *Rhetoric*.

It was the schoolmasters of Tudor England who first began the study of the *Rhetoric*. We have seen that Vives knew it, that Cheke knew it, at least through Sturm's treatment, and that Ascham studied it. Some years elapsed, however, before we find any wide acquaintance with the work. Ascham died in 1568, two years before his *Schoolmaster* was published. The next man to attract our attention is the well-known Cambridge pedant, Gabriel Harvey, now chiefly remembered for his friendship with Edmund Spenser and his enmity towards Thomas Nashe and Robert Greene. Harvey

[43] *Ibid.*, I, 315.
[44] *Ibid.*, III, 217.
[45] *Ibid.*, III, 170, 201-2, 217, 227.
[46] *Ibid.*, III, 201-2.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

aimed to know everything that was going on in the field of learning, and he, if any one, should be able to give us a view of contemporary scholarship.

Harvey is found at Cambridge before Spenser, who went there in 1565.[47] In 1573 he was tutor at Pembroke College, and before 1576, according to his own account, he became renowned beyond all precedent as a lecturer on Rhetoric.[48] In 1577 he published two Latin works containing his lectures. His master was Cicero, however, and not Aristotle. He also studied Quintilian, as might be expected, but Cicero was his model: "'I produce,' he said, 'my folly to make you wiser. I worshipped M. T. as the God of Latinity, and would rather have been a Ciceronian than a saint.'"[49]

A few years later, 1580, Harvey writes to Spenser from Cambridge, grumbling at the decline of ancient learning. Cicero and Demosthenes are not studied now as formerly. Aristotle is "much named but little read."[50] Evidently times have changed since Sir John Cheke led the scholarly discussions and read Greek to his students.

In another letter Harvey is more optimistic. The *Organon* is almost forgotten, but every one has Aristotle's *Economics* and *Politics* by heart.[51] Harvey himself is fond of referring to the *Politics*, but with the exception of one mention of the *Poetics*[52] his English writings offer no definite evidence that he had any interest in Aristotle's critical works. There is a passage in *Pierces Supererogation*, however, that may be what we are looking for. This choice bit of scurrilous writing draws a sarcastic comparison between Thomas Nashe and the "great Atlas of Logic and Astronomy, that supported the orbs of the heavens by art, or the mighty Hercules of Rhetoric and Poetry, that with certain marvelous, fine, and delicate chains drew after him the vassals of the world by the ears."[53] Who could the "great Atlas of Logic and Astronomy" and the "mighty Hercules of Rhetoric and Poetry" be except Aristotle? Harvey knew, or knew of, the *Poetics*, and it is more than likely

[47] Harvey, *Works*, ed. by Grosart, 1884, I, xii.
[48] *Ibid.*, I, xiii.
[49] *Ibid.*, I, xvii (quoted by Morley).
[50] *Ibid.*, I, 69.
[51] *Ibid.*, I, 137-8.
[52] Harvey, *Marginalia*, ed. by G. C. Moore Smith, Stratford, 1913, p. 168.
[53] Harvey, *Works*, II, 114-15.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

he knew something about the *Rhetoric*. The fact that he never refers to it in the way he does to the *Politics* is but another indication of the firm hold the Latin rhetoricians still held. Aristotle's day was coming, but his conquest in England was slow.

We naturally should expect Francis Bacon, statesman and orator as well as scholar, to know the *Rhetoric*, and so he did. In the *Advancement of Learning* (published in 1605) he has a few remarks on Rhetoric, mentioning Aristotle and Cicero as early masters of the study.[54] In the *De Augmentis Scientiarum* (published in 1623), an expansion of the *Advancement of Learning*, Bacon has more to say on Aristotle and Rhetoric. Chapter 3 of Book 6 is devoted to a discussion of Oratory—without doubt an excellent science, well worked out, though Aristotle and Cicero have a little outdone themselves in their zeal for the study. Now Bacon is notorious for his animosity towards the Philosopher, or at least towards the mediaeval treatment of him, but no one can say that he did not study Aristotle, or that he owed little to the Greek master. He goes on to stir the earth about the roots of the science, as was his custom, and notes some deficiencies in the art, as was his custom. But he is very Aristotelian at times. He is concerned with moving the emotions, with the appeal to the hearers.

> Aristotle wisely places Rhetoric between Logic on the one side and moral and civil knowledge on the other, as participating of both. For the proofs and demonstrations of Logic are the same to all men; but the proofs and persuasions of Rhetoric ought to differ according to the auditors.[55]

Yet he criticizes Aristotle for neglecting to develop sufficiently his collection of the "popular signs or colours of apparent good and evil," materials of great value to the rhetorician.[56] If we examine Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (1.6,7), it seems that the author has said enough on the subject, but Bacon is not satisfied. He proceeds to do what Aristotle has left undone—giving sophisms, and then exposing their fallacies, following this by numerous examples of antitheses.[57] Repeatedly Bacon shows a thorough acquaintance with the *Rhetoric*, and though he finds fault with it—as indeed he does with virtually all of the Aristotelian writings—he seems to

[54] Bacon, *Works*, ed. by Spedding, Ellis, and Heath, New York, 1864, VI, 297, 300.

[55] *Ibid.*, IX, 134; cf. *Rhetoric* 1.2.

[56] *Ibid.*, IX, 135.

[57] Aristotle does devote a whole chapter to false arguments, "spurious enthymemes." Cf. *Rhetoric* 2.24.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

admire the treatise as one of Aristotle's ablest works, a keen and penetrating study—as far as it goes.[58]

Bacon's use of the *Rhetoric* is not confined to his scientific writings, but we find more than one place in the *Essays* that goes back to Aristotle.[59] The essay, or character-sketch, *Of Youth and Age,* obviously owes much to the famous chapters in the second book of the *Rhetoric.* We are fairly safe in saying, then, that Aristotle's *Rhetoric* was not a book that Bacon merely tasted, or one that he hastily swallowed; it was one of the few to be chewed and digested, a book that he read wholly and with diligence and attention.[60]

Bacon writes to Lord Mountjoy regarding his collection of the "colours of good and evil":

I send you the last part of the best book of Aristotle of Stagira, who (as your lordship knoweth) goeth for the best author. But (saving the civil respect which is due to a received estimation) the man being a Grecian and of a hasty wit, having hardly a discerning patience, much less a teaching patience, hath so delivered the matter, as I am glad to do the part of a good house-hen, which without any strangeness will sit upon pheasants' eggs. And yet perchance some that shall compare my lines with Aristotle's lines, will muse by what art, or rather by what revelation, I could draw these conceits out of that place. But I, that should know best, do freely acknowledge that I had my light from him; for where he gave me not matter to perfect, at the least he gave me occasion to invent. — *Works,* XIII, 263.

In following the course of Aristotle's treatise we have so far been concerned only with the Cambridge men who, under the impetus given them by Sir John Cheke, made such remarkable advances in scholarship, culminating in the comprehensive genius of Francis Bacon. But students and teachers at Oxford had not been idle. We should not look for neglect of Aristotle in the English University that particularly asserted her devotion to the classics. Vives, we remember, once lectured there. Perhaps it was he who led the way in making Oxford a stronghold of Rhetoric. One of the most noted of the early Oxford rhetoricians was John Jewel, later Bishop of Salisbury. Born in 1522, Jewel entered Oxford at an early age and after a brilliant career received his degree from Corpus Christi College in 1540. He had an unquenchable thirst for learning, studying from early in the morning until late at night, the classics, history, rhetoric, philosophy, and mathematics. Soon he was appointed Reader of Rhetoric at Corpus Christi, a position he filled

[58] See Bacon, *Works,* IX, 219-20.

[59] Bacon, *Essays,* ed. by S. H. Reynolds, Oxford, 1890, pp. 35, 84, 382.

[60] For a full account of Bacon's debt to Aristotle's *Rhetoric* see Emil Wolff's *Francis Bacon und seine Quellen,* Berlin, 1910.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

with considerable success. It seems that before long, however, he turned against his subject and became a bitter enemy of Rhetoric. Some time before 1552[61] he delivered a Latin oration (*Oratio contra Rhetoricam*) in which he roundly abuses the art, not without resorting himself to many devices of the rhetoricians. According to Jewel the study of Rhetoric is a terrible curse, fostering lies, fraud, suspicion, abuse, almost every thing that is bad. And small wonder; for do not the rhetoricians have for their familiar god Mercury, the patron of cheats and thieves? Furthermore, look how their hetoricians disagree among themselves:

> Tisias does not approve of Corax, Theophrastus of Tisias, Demetrius of Theophrastus, Termagoras [Hermogenes[63]] of Demetrius. For Aristotle, lest he should seem to know too little, condemned all the precepts of foregoing rhetoricians. Cicero departed from Aristotle, Fabius [Quintilian] from Cicero, Hermogenes from Fabius.[62]

Jewel may condemn Rhetoric, but he is himself no novice in the art. He was well-acquainted with the standard rhetorical treatises. Cicero seems to have been his favorite, but one would judge from his remarks that the Aristotelian *Rhetoric* was not unknown to him.

In spite of Jewel's eloquent plea the study of Rhetoric continued to flourish at Oxford. The next teacher of outstanding importance is John Reynolds (1549-1607), one of the greatest Elizabethan scholars, a man who played a leading part in the translation of the King James Bible. Nothing short of a prodigy, Reynolds at thirteen years of age won a scholarship at Corpus Christi. At seventeen he became a fellow, and in 1572-3 he was appointed Greek Reader. Anthony Wood says of him:

> He was a person of prodigious reading, and doctrine, and the very treasury of erudition. . . . The author that he read was Aristotle, whose three incomparable books of Rhetoric he illustrated with so excellent a commentary, so richly fraught with polite literature, that as well in the commentary as in the text, a man may find a 'golden river of things and words.'[64]

Reynolds did not publish his commentary, but left it in manuscript —*Commentarii in tres lib. Aristot. de Rhetorica.*[65] The Bodleian Library still has the copy of the *Rhetoric* (ed. by Morel, Paris, 1562) from which Reynolds lectured. The old book is interleaved,

[61] Thomas Fowler, *The History of Corpus Christi College*, Oxford, 1893, p. 95.
[62] Jewel, *Works*, Cambridge, 1850, IV, 1286.
[63] Variant reading.
[64] Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, London, 1721, I. 339.
[65] *Ibid.*, I, 341.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

and contains an introduction, index, and copious notes in handwriting.[66]

Associated with Reynolds, his student in fact, was Richard Hooker, whose famous *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* offers some of the finest eloquence and most scholarly thought in our language. From an examination of the book we soon see that the author was well-acquainted with Aristotle's *Politics* and *Ethics*. We find him also referring to what the "head of all philosophers" has said in his *Rhetoric*.[67] Furthermore Hooker's discussion of the difference between the laws of nature and the laws of man seems to go back to the same treatise.[68]

We should not stress the importance of the *Rhetoric* in the minds of Jewel or Hooker, for doubtless it was not of primary interest to either of them. Its influence on Reynolds, however, is another matter, and he at least did much to promote the use of Aristotelian Rhetoric at Oxford. That students there were now beginning to study the *Rhetoric* as well as the more popular writings of Aristotle we have the testimony of three eminent Oxonians.

Sir Philip Sidney left Oxford (Christ Church) to travel abroad a short time before Reynolds became Greek Reader. Judging from his correspondence, however, he had already become acquainted with the works of Aristotle. In 1574 he writes to his tutor, Hubert Languet, of his desire to master Greek so that he may be able to read Aristotle in the original—the current translations seemed to him to be inadequate.[69] At the time he particularly desired to read the *Politics*, though in a subsequent letter he speaks of the *Ethics* as the "beginning and foundation" of all Aristotle's works.[70] Sidney was also a student of literary criticism. Well-versed in the critical treatises of the Italian Renaissance, he was the man who did most to introduce the Aristotelian principles of criticism to his countrymen.[71] It would be surprising indeed if such a man, an eager admirer of Aristotle, the first of England's literary critics whose doctrines were based on Aristotelian ground, were ignorant of the *Rhetoric*. Nor was he. In a letter to Languet, written in 1577, Sidney refers in such a familiar way to Aristotle's treatment of

[66] Fowler, p. 158.

[67] Hooker, Bk. 5, ch. 71, §11; cf. *Rhetoric* 1.5.

[68] *Ibid.*, Bk. 1, ch. 3, §3; Bk. 1, ch. 8, §3; cf. *Rhetoric* 1.10.

[69] Sidney, *Works*, ed. by Albert Feuillerat, Cambridge, 1923, III, 84.

[70] *Ibid.*, III, 124.

[71] See Sidney's *Defence of Poesy* and J. E. Spingarn's *History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, New York, 1912, pp. 268 f.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

the emotions in the second book of the *Rhetoric* that we have no doubt he was well-acquainted with the work.[72] Whether he first met the *Rhetoric* at Oxford or abroad we have no way of determining.

The other two Oxonians do not offer such definite evidence. William Camden, one of Sidney's warmest friends at Oxford, and later to become the famous antiquary and historian, lent a copy of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* to Henri Dupuy (better known as Puteanus) in 1620.[73] We trust that Camden himself had read the book. Sir Henry Wotton (1568-1639), diplomat and poet, in a letter to Sir Robert Naunton, written in 1618, has an Aristotelian reference that almost certainly goes back to the *Rhetoric*.[74] We trust that Sir Robert Naunton knew what his friend was talking about.

It is difficult to find whether or not the traditions of rhetorical study established by Reynolds were carried on at Oxford after his death, but at least one teacher at another college seems to have used Aristotle in his classes, namely, Barton Holyday, praelector of Rhetoric and Philosophy at Christ Church College from about 1617 to 1621. His exercises and lectures, composed at the time but not published until 1633, concern the *De Anima*, the *Ethics*, and the *Rhetoric*.[75] A small commentary on the second book of the *Rhetoric* was dedicated by one "Jo. Hardinge" to W. Langton, president of Magdalen College from 1610 to 1626.[76]

We have now reached well into the seventeenth century. By 1620 there was no excuse for any educated Englishman's not knowing the *Rhetoric*—if he cared to make its acquaintance—for in 1619 Theodore Goulston published the first edition of the treatise in England, *Versio Latina et Paraphrasis in Aristotelis Rhetoricam.* Goulston was a competent scholar, and therefore his work marks a new era for Aristotelian scholarship in England. The studious seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were to make Aristotle a veritable dictator in literary criticism. The *Poetics* was to bear the chief burden, but the *Rhetoric* was to receive no small share of attention.

[72] Sidney, *Works*, III, 118; Sed tu vide quid Aristoteles in Rhetoricis de senibus habeat. Esse nimirum in amore frigidos, et nos irridere nostris spiritubus in amicitia colenda, quasi nihil allud essent, quam juvenilis ardoris fumin.

[73] Camden, *Epistolae*, London, 1691, p. 310.

[74] *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, by L. P. Smith, Oxford, 1907, II, 146. Cf. *Rhetoric* 1354ª32; *Politics* 1282ᵇ1; 1287ª25; 1287ᵇ15-31.

[75] See Falconer Madan, *The Early Oxford Press*, Oxford, 1895, p. 170.

[76] *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1856-67, II, 264.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

CHATEAUBRIAND'S READING DURING HIS "EMIGRATION"

By Aaron Schaffer
University of Texas

The study of Chateaubriand's reading during the first four of his seven years as *émigré* in London, involving a careful consideration of his *Essai sur les révolutions* written during that time, may serve to throw some additional light upon this comparatively obscure period of his life. The story of his *émigration* and of the composition and publication of the *Essai* has been told by Chateaubriand himself in the *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*[1] and in the *préface* to the *Essai* that was written for the 1826 edition of the *Oeuvres complètes*; Baldensperger, in his careful study, "Chateaubriand et l'émigration royaliste à Londres" (*Etudes d'histoire littéraire*, Paris, 1910, II, 92-154) has filled in many of the gaps left by Chateaubriand's own account. From these sources we learn that Chateaubriand obtained most of the material necessary for the compilation of his work from the bookseller Baylis, in whose home he occupied a room and who eventually published the *Essai*; we are told also that Chateaubriand was aided with advice and historical references by the journalist, Peltier, and by his own friend and fellow-sufferer, Hingant. Finally, it may be assumed that he made good use of the library of the Rev. Ives, parson of Bungay, while he was at work on the French manuscripts in the Camden collection at Beccles. The effort will be made, in this study, to indicate the sources of the erudition displayed by Chateaubriand in the *Essai* and to examine the influences under which it was written—in a word, to determine Chateaubriand's reading up to and during the time of his London exile.

This task is considerably simplified by the fact that Chateaubriand, in addition to quoting and borrowing numerous passages from other works for the text of his *Essai* and to making briefer reference to many more, has provided the text with a truly formidable apparatus of notes (this set of notes is part of the original

[1] Paris, Garnier frères, II, 107-86.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

edition of the *Essai* and must not be confused with the notes appended to the 1826 edition). Unfortunately, the names of authors and the titles of works mentioned in these notes are usually abbreviated, so that some few of them are difficult of identification (these are listed in Appendix C of this study). By actual count, there are no less than three hundred and forty-five authors, works, and encyclopædia articles mentioned in the text and notes of the *Essai*, and these range all the way from Hesiod and Herodotus down to the *Mémoires du général Dumouriez* (Hamburg, 1794). During his student days at Dol and at Dinant, Chateaubriand had displayed a keen inclination for classical literatures, more especially for Latin authors, with many of whom he had acquired more than a passing familiarity. With this as point of departure, Chateaubriand must have undoubtedly, during his first years in London, indulged in a veritable orgy of reading in his search for material for the *Essai*. Here, it would seem, is one clue to the manner in which he spent the first years of his *émigration*. Weak in health, with few or no friends, and with neither the means nor the inclination to indulge in the riotous living so common to the members of his caste, Chateaubriand was compelled to seek within himself pastime for the hours of leisure left him between his odds and ends of copying, translating, and tutoring.[2] That he read carefully the works and encyclopædia articles mentioned in the notes to the *Essai* need not be assumed; but that he was more than superficially familiar with the contents of many of them becomes evident from a study of the *Essai*.

Of the contents of the *Essai*, little need here be said. Its complete title is a fairly accurate indication, in itself, of what the work contains: *Essai historique, politique, et moral sur les Révolutions anciennes et modernes considérées dans leurs rapports avec la Révolution française*. The work was dedicated "to all parties" and bears on the title-page of the first edition the date of 1707, an error to which Chateaubriand himself later called attention.[3] The or-

[2] This fact, says Chateaubriand in the Notice to the first edition of the *Essai* (*Oeuvres complètes*, II, xlix), explains the frequent interjection of the *moi* into this work. The *Essai* was written for the author's distraction and was not originally intended to be read by others.

[3] In the *Avertissement de l'auteur* for the edition of 1826 (*Oeuvres complètes*, Paris, Pourrat frères, 1836-38, II, ix). This edition is the one used in this study and will henceforth be referred to as *OC*. In the *Préface* which follows, Chateaubriand publicly declares his *mea culpa*, announcing that, to make his

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

iginal intention of the author was to discuss five important revolutions of antiquity and seven equally important revolutions of modern times (among them that of the American colonies) and to study their effect upon the French Revolution. In the *Essai* as it was finally published, however, only the revolutions of ancient Greece are treated; these are compared in very great detail with the French Revolution and in lesser detail with the Cromwellian rebellion which brought about the decapitation of Charles I.[4] To this is added a heterogeneous mass of information regarding ancient laws, literature, philosophy, and morals, with liberal quotations from original sources, and with more than occasional intrusions of personal opinion which, in an ostensibly historical work, sound strangely out of place, even were they not frequently rendered ridiculous by the bias and the youth of their author.[5] There are, here and there, passages of true stylistic beauty which foreshadow the greater works of this precursor of the Romantic movement in France; such, for instance, is the description of a *Nuit chez les sauvages* which forms the last chapter of the work and part of which was later bodily transferred into the *Génie du Christianisme*. And there are, most important of all, several chapters[6] devoted to what purported to be a searching examination into the origins and dogmas of Christianity; the last of these chapters bears the incriminating title: "Quelle sera la religion qui remplacera le Christianisme." It was these chapters, as much as the general tone of skepticism that pervades the *Essai* (a tone, by the way, which Chateaubriand himself, with some justice, attributes to the depressing circumstances under which the work was written) that the author had so much difficulty in living down, after the act of public conversion that was the *Génie du Christianisme*.[7] And it was against this skeptical tone

expiation more complete, he has retained the original text of the *Essai* with all its factual and stylistic errors. The actual date of publication of the *Essai* is 1797.

[4] In a note to Pt. II, ch. 56 of the *Essai* (*OC.*, III, 275), Chateaubriand informs us that the remainder of the work was extant in manuscript. He is amazed, he goes on to say, at the fecundity of his youth, and marvels at the amount of work he was able to squeeze into the limited twenty-four hours of each day.

[5] Cf. the chapter entitled: "Aux Infortunés," Pt. II, Ch. 13 (*OC.*, III, 66).

[6] *Vide* Pt. II, chaps. 44-45 (*OC.*, III, 220-270). In chapter 45, for instance, Chateaubriand develops the theory that there never was a Jesus of Nazareth, and that, if he actually did live, he was in no way endowed with divinity.

[7] At the end of the 1826 edition of the *Essai* are appended excerpts from

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

that the barbed shafts contained in the notes to the 1826 edition were directly aimed.[8]

In the fifth and sixth *leçons* of his *Chateaubriand et son groupe littéraire*,[9] Sainte-Beuve makes a brief study of the notes appended by Chateaubriand to the 1826 edition of the *Essai*. He calls attention to the erudition displayed in these notes, but doubts both Chateaubriand's profundity and his sincerity. Chateaubriand, he declares, is erudite, as he is everything else, for effect. He was not made, says Sainte-Beauve, "*pour être véritablement historien dans le sens sérieux et auguste du mot.*" And Sainte-Beuve is here not far from the truth. Chateaubriand was too impetuous, too biased, to be able to render fair judgment on the French Revolution, an event which had caused him and the members of his family so much suffering; and as for the revolutions of antiquity, he was too lacking in insight to be able to distinguish truth from falsity in the accounts of ancient historians. He seems to place equal faith in all chroniclers of antiquity: in Herodotus as in Thucydides, in Josephus as in Xenophon. This lack of discernment led him to make, in the *Essai*, a series of comparisons of the men, events, and peoples of antiquity with those of his own day, of which he was himself later heartily ashamed, and which caused Sainte-Beuve to say:[10] "*M. de Chateaubriand n'a pas le sentiment du ridicule, ce sentiment si français avant lui.*" Moreover, in citing references, Chateaubriand as often as not merely refers to a work with no indication as to chapter or page, sometimes even giving incorrect attributions, as when he makes Plutarch the author of Aristotle's *De Generatione animalium* (*OC.*, III, 121); and frequently, he mentions merely an author, so that, in order to check up on the accuracy of the citation, one might have to search through that author's complete works. Thus, we are referred, in Chapter 7 of Part I (*OC.*, II, 41) to Plutarch's *Life of Solon*, or, in Chapter 20

the *Génie du Christianisme* which were meant by Chateaubriand to refute the objections to Christianity voiced in these chapters (*OC.*, III, 299-312).

[8] Sainte-Beuve, in an essay on Chateaubriand published in the *Causeries du lundi*, vol. X, is led, by the presence of marginal notes in Chateaubriand's own hand written a few months after its publication into a copy of the *Essai* that had originally belonged to its author and had later come into Sainte-Beuve's possession, to doubt the sincerity of Chateaubriand's immediate recantation of his youthful errors and of his return to the bosom of the church.

[9] Paris, Garnier frères, 1861; 2 vols.; *vide* especially I, 145 et seq.

[10] *Ibid.*, I, 142.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

(*OC.*, II, 82), to Horace's *Ars poetica*, with no more precise indication as to the source of his information; or again, in Chapter 38 (*OC.*, II, 185), we are referred for data regarding the institutions of the Druids to a number of sources, among which are Strabo and Lucan, without any hint as to particular works, let alone exact chapters or pages. Such a procedure would, of course, be inexcusable in our own day, and, though we must make allowances for the fact that history had not, in 1794, become the exact science it is today, we can scarcely refrain from looking down upon Chateaubriand's scholarship as something slipshod and unreliable.

On the other hand, Chateaubriand's encyclopædic reading reveals itself upon almost every page of the text of the *Essai*. Everything in the field of history, philosophy, and literature, would seem to have been read by him or, at least, to have come to his notice. Now he sends his reader to Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, again to Joinville and Philippe de Commines; or, to give the flavor of the older translation, he quotes entire pages from "*le bon Amyot.*" In comparing the philosophy of the ancients with that of the moderns, he summarizes the doctrines of virtually all the important thinkers since Thales. To the eighteenth-century *philosophes* and to a comparison of the utopian schemes of Plato, Fénelon, and Rousseau, two chapters of the *Essai* are devoted. In literature, Chateaubriand's eye seems to have overlooked nothing; all languages appear to have presented their masterpieces to him. If it is tragedy he is discussing, he mentions with equal volubility, and side by side, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Racine, and Crébillon.[11] The mention of Homer and Hesiod reminds Chateaubriand of the other great epics of historical times, from Virgil through Klopstock. In one sentence, he heaps up the names of Demosthenes, Cicero, Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus, Virgil, Phaedrus, Aesop, Racine, Boileau, Montesquieu, Pope, Dryden, Sidney, and Bacon, and he is tempted to add "*mille autres.*"[12] A comparison of the ancient Scythians and the Swiss calls to Chateaubriand's mind the works of Haller, Gessner, and Lavater; the Renaissance calls up the names of Dante and Petrarch. In his zeal for comparison, he makes literary *rapprochements* which frequently rival

[11] In an 1826 foot-note to Pt. I, ch. 3 (*OC.*, II, 26), Chateaubriand apologizes for this linking of the names of Racine and Crébillon.

[12] Pt. I, ch. 68 (*OC.*, II, 307).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

his political *rapprochements* for inanity and for which he overflows with apologies in his 1826 notes. Thus, the songs of Voltaire are mentioned alongside those of Anacreon; Sappho is placed on a level with the Chevalier de Parny, who is also called the French Tibullus, and Fontanes with Simonides; whilst the independence of spirit displayed by Rousseau in his dealings with Frederick the Great is likened to that of Heraclitus towards Darius. Gray's *Elegy,* Burke's *Orations,* Cook's *Voyages,* Delille's translation of Virgil's *Georgics,* Wilkins' translation of the *Baghvat-Geeta,* Rabelais, Montaigne, the *Sakuntala,* Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, and the *Oracles* of Zoroaster, all these and untold others find their place in this mass of youthful discursiveness.

But from this congeries of writings that Chateaubriand has absorbed and given back, one fact stands out with unmistakable clarity. This is the influence of eighteenth-century French literature upon the adolescent Chateaubriand. An entire chapter is devoted to a consideration of Diderot and the principal collaborators to and friends of the *Encyclopédie*: Helvétius, Montesquieu, d'Alembert, Mably, Raynal, Condillac;[13] moreover, Chateaubriand displays familiarity with the works of Duclos, Chamfort, Parny, Lebrun, Fontanes and other minor contemporaries. But, most important of all, the author of the *Essai* is clearly indebted to Jean-Jacques Rousseau and to Bernardin de Saint-Pierre. We may, for a moment, turn our attention to a consideration of the influence exerted by these two writers upon Chateaubriand. This can be done, simply and directly, by enumerating the references to them in the text and the notes of the *Essai.* In Part I, chapter 2, discussing the question as to the nature of primitive forms of government, Chateaubriand cites the celebrated definition of the social contract, as laid down by Rousseau, which, he finds, could not have applied to primitive peoples. In an 1826 note to this chapter, Chateaubriand, though admitting "the admiration which he professed for Rousseau at that time," points with something like pride to this youthful difference of opinion. But it was more difficult for him to live down an expression which he uses in chapter 20 of Part I, where he speaks of "*le sublime* Emile" of Rousseau.[14] In the 1826 note to this passage, Chateaubriand promises, somewhat

[13] Pt. II, ch. 25 (*OC.*, III, 144 et seq.).

[14] *OC.*, II, 82.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ironically, to dispose later on of Rousseau and his "sublime" *Emile*. This castigation actually occurs in a three-page note to a passage in chapter 24 of Part I,[15] in which the "*tendre et sublime génie*" of Rousseau is compared with that of Heraclitus. In the 1826 note, Chateaubriand states that, after a re-reading of the works of Rousseau, he can scarcely understand the enthusiasm he had cherished in his youth either for the man Rousseau or for his works. "*Je n'ai point retrouvé le sublime* Emile," he writes; but he has gone so far as to admit that he still preserves something of his old admiration for Rousseau. In this disowning of the master by his disciple, one is reminded of the belated sneers directed by Voltaire at Shakespeare. As a matter of fact, Chateaubriand, in 1794, considered Rousseau, as he did Locke and Montesquieu, one of those who "awakened modern nations to liberty."[16] And, later in the *Essai*, he goes into veritable ecstacies over Rousseau and his *Emile*. In Part II, chapter 26, a detailed comparison is drawn between the *Republic* of Plato, the *Télémaque* of Fénelon, and the *Emile* of Rousseau. After giving a résumé of the contents of *Emile*, Chateaubriand states that its only fault lies in the fact that it was written for so few readers, and that there are but five works in all literature worth reading, one of which is the "immortal" *Emile*.[17] Of course, Chateaubriand can not let such rhapsodic praise go untouched in the 1826 edition, but the best he can do is to wax sarcastic over the exaggerations of his youth, and he is compelled to confess that he has little to retract of the eulogies which he had heaped upon the head of Rousseau. The famous passage in *Emile* in which the Revolution is foreseen and in which it is urged that all boys be taught trades is the subject of a lengthy laudatory note in the original edition which Chateaubriand, in 1826, made no attempt to disavow. "*Si j'eusse vécu du temps de Jean-Jacques, j'aurais voulu devenir son disciple,*" he says at the close of this tell-tale chapter. In point of fact, Chateaubriand had become the disciple of Rousseau, as almost every page of his writings testifies; and, willy-nilly, he was still his disciple in 1826.

If Chateaubriand was indebted to Rousseau for many of the ideas which he carried about in his head during the period of his

[15] *OC.*, II, 120. The note extends from p. 120 to p. 123.
[16] Pt. I, ch. 21 (*OC.*, II, 85).
[17] *OC.*, III, 160-61.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

émigration, he owed almost as large a debt to that other of his masters, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, himself an avowed disciple of Rousseau. In Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Chateaubriand saw the great stylist, and his few references to him in the *Essai* indicate that he was taking the style of his predecessor as a model. Thus, he says, in connection with *les Harmonies de la nature,* that Saint-Pierre has "clothed the purest moral teaching with the most enchanting style."[18] A few pages further on,[19] a quotation from *Paul et Virginie* is preceded by the statement that one finds in Bernardin de Saint-Pierre a multitude of true thoughts and touching reflections which are always clothed in the language of the heart; indeed, the passage from *Paul et Virginie* is compared favorably with a few sentences selected from the *Golden Verses* variously attributed to Pythagoras and to Empedocles. Finally, in the interesting chapter, "Aux Infortunés," mentioned above, Chateaubriand makes reference to the paria in Bernardin's "conte philosophique," *la Chaumière indienne.*

It may not be out of place here to indicate, in a general way, the nature of the notes to the 1826 edition of the *Essai.* Some idea of them has already been gained from the references to Chateaubriand's ironical efforts to mitigate his youthful infatuation[20] for Rousseau. It is to be observed at once that virtually all these notes are written in a tone of the most pronounced condescension. The fifty-eight-year-old Chateaubriand, monarchist, clerical, believer in the perfectibility of man, has undertaken to defend the fatalist, the cynic, and the republican that he was at the age of twenty-six. His efforts to prove that even at that time, and throughout the period of the composition of the *Essai,* he had never wavered either in his religious faith or in his political ideals, frequently sound forced, and he is often reduced to resorting to the merest sarcasm in order to demolish his *émigré* self. The most important and, usually, the longest of the notes are devoted to a criticism of his youthful slurs upon society, upon government of any kind, upon human nature—of which slurs there are many. His numerous Rousseauistic inferences that the savage is a better man than is he who has been

[18] *OC.,* II, 195.

[19] *OC.,* II, 198-99.

[20] He uses this very word in concluding a note to Pt. II, ch. 26 (*OC.,* III, 161).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

reared in the midst of civilization are all laughed to scorn by the older Chateaubriand. Naturally, too, the anti-Christian chapters are vigorously belabored in the 1826 notes. Stylistic criticisms, sneers at Anglicisms abound; and attacks upon his own youthful erudition, which manifested itself in what he styles "*jugements de collège,*"[21] are not infrequent. Recantations of earlier literary judgments, such as that on the works of Rousseau previously mentioned, occur from time to time; thus, the *Messias* of Klopstock, which seemed "sublime" to the *émigré* Chateaubriand, no longer appeared so in 1826. An interesting note is that in which Chateaubriand substitutes for the theory which he held in 1794 that the history of man moves constantly in a circle, one likening this movement to that of a spiral.[22] Other notes contain indications as to sentences or even whole paragraphs lifted bodily out of the *Essai* and inserted into later works. "L'Essai historique," says one of these notes, "*comme les* Natchez, *est la mine d'où j'ai tiré la plupart des matériaux employés dans mes autres écrits*"; or again:[24]

> Les personnes qui ont lu mes ouvrages pourront remarquer que *l'Essai* est la mine brute où j'ai puisé une partie des idées que j'ai répendues dans mes autres écrits.

Finally, in a rather lengthy note, Chateaubriand passes judgment on this work of his *émigré* period; the concluding sentence of this note runs:

> J'ignore si mon nom parviendra à l'avenir; je ne sais si la postérité entendra parler de mes ouvrages; mais si l'*Essai* échappait à l'oubli, tel qu'il est en lui-même cet *Essai*, et tel qu'il est surtout avec les *Notes critiques*, ce serait un des plus singuliers monuments de ma vie.[25]

This brings us to a consideration of the actual sources used by Chateaubriand in the composition of the *Essai*—in other words, to the library which was at his command during his first years in London. It has already been stated that, aside from the works mentioned in the text of the *Essai,* there are three hundred and forty-five authors and titles referred to in the notes of the original edition.[26] These authors and titles are enumerated in three appen-

[21] *OC.*, II, 26.

[22] *OC.*, III, 272.

[23] *Vide OC.*, II, 239.

[24] *OC.*, II, 306.

[25] *OC.*, II, 262.

[26] Many of the works and authors mentioned in the text are also referred to in the notes, but some sixty are not.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

dices attached to this paper. I shall here attempt merely to indicate the range and the scope of Chateaubriand's sources. Chateaubriand's youthful omniscience is testified to by the fact that the works upon which he drew represent no less than seven different languages, most of which, of course, he knew only in translation. There are mentioned some sixteen Greek authors—historians, poets, tragedians, all among the great names of the world's literature. There are no less than thirty-five classical and early mediaeval Latin authors represented, among whom are to be found, alongside of Virgil, Horace, and Seneca, such comparatively little known writers as Velleius Paterculus, Claudius Aelianus, and Lactantius Placidius. Some fifteen English writers are referred to, chiefly historians and philosophers; it may be mentioned, in passing, that Ossian, accepted as genuine by the *émigré* Chateaubriand, was rejected by him thirty years later. There are references to only four German authors (Klopstock, Haller, Gessner, and Lavater; Chateaubriand seems, in 1794, to have been totally ignorant of the work of Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller—but then, Madame de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* did not appear until 1813); six Italian writers are mentioned; the *Bible,* the two *Eddas, Sakuntala,* scholarly works in pedant Latin, all find place in this pseudo-encyclopædia. Naturally enough, French writers outnumber those of any other nation; approximately forty of Chateaubriand's fellow-countrymen find mention in the notes to the *Essai.* A mere glance at this prodigious assemblage of erudition causes one to presuppose its unreliability; but, on the other hand, this formidable bibliography is a speaking witness of the manner in which Chateaubriand passed his *émigration.*

It must have become sufficiently clear, by now, that the *Essai sur les révolutions* was the proving-ground on which Chateaubriand first tested his skill as writer, historian, and philosopher, and that during the four years spent in its composition were sown the seeds that were later to flower into the literary products upon which his immortality was to rest. In a word, Chateaubriand the *émigré* was the father of Chateaubriand the prose-poet, the ardent champion of monarchy and of church. For, after all, despite the apparent differences in outlook manifested in the *Essai* and the later works, the two men were fundamentally the same. Chateaubriand's own statement[27] that his quarrel, all his life, had been with fanaticism of any

[27] Preface to 1826 edition of the *Essai, OC.,* II, xl.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

kind, whether religious or anti-religious, may or may not be true; but Sainte-Beuve's dictum that Chateaubriand was at all times too much of a compromiser and temporizer ever to have seriously espoused any one system of philosophy probably comes closer to the truth. We may, then, by way of conclusion, illustrate the dependence of the later works upon the *Essai* by citing a few concrete examples. Sainte-Beuve, in his *Chateaubriand et son groupe littéraire*, I, 149, discusses what he calls Chatteaubriand's "*chapitres à tiroir.*" Lucien Chevolot has shown,[28] by the quotation of parallel passages, that Chateaubriand drew upon the *Essai* for the *Génie du Christianisme, les Quatre Stuart, Atala, René,* and *les Martyrs,* for various addresses and essays contained in the volumes of the *Oeuvres complètes* entitled *Discours et opinions, Polémique,* and *Mélanges politiques,* for the *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem,* and for the *Mémoires d'outre-tombe,* in a word, for almost every one of his later works of importance. Among the "*chapitres à tiroir,*" only two need be noted here: the celebrated description of Niagara Falls, first printed as part of a note to the *Essai*[29] and now one of the beauty-spots of *Atala;* and the description of the night amongst the savages, which was first a part of the concluding chapter of the *Essai,* later appeared, in revised form, in the *Génie du Christianisme,* and was finally included, considerably abridged, in the *Mémoires d'outre-tombe.*[30] From all of this it becomes clear that the Chateaubriand of the formative period of the *émigration* was but the preliminary to the later and far better known Chateaubriand, and that the latter can not be thoroughly understood without an acquaintance with Chateaubriand the *émigré.*[31]

APPENDIX A.

(Literary references in the text of *l'Essai sur les révolutions.*)

Aeschylus (II, 26); Aesop (II, 93, 307); Alcaeus (II, 93); d'Alembert (III, 214); Amyot (III, 84); Amyot: quotation from translation of Plutarch (II, 85 et seq.); Anacreon (II, 72); Anaxarchus (III, 163); Aristotle (III,

[28] *Wie hat Chateaubriand in seinen späteren Werken seine früheren benützt?* Heidelberg, 1910.

[29] Note to Pt. II, ch. 23 (*OC.*, III, 136).

[30] For a detailed study of the various transformations of this particular passage, *vide* Victor-Giraud: "Histoire des variations d'une page de Chateaubriand," which forms one of the chapters of his *Chateaubriand,* Paris, Hachette, 1912.

[31] I take this occasion of acknowledging my indebtedness to Prof. Gilbert Chinard, of Johns Hopkins University, who suggested to me the subject of this paper.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

120); Bacon, Francis (II, 307, III, 137); Baghvat-Geeta: Wilkins' translation (II, 241); Bayle, Pierre (III, 142); Bodin (III, 141); Boileau (II, 91, 307); Burke: *Orations* (II, 156); *Camoëns* (II, 79); Cardan, Jérôme (III, 137); *Chanson en l'honneur d'Harmodius et d'Aristogiton* (II, 110); Chamfort (III, 166); Charondas (III, 165); Cicero (II, 307); Clarisse, Clémentine, Cécilia: heroines (III, 79); Commines (II, 209-10); Condillac (III, 145); Cook: *Voyages* (II, 169); Copernicus (III, 142); Crébillon (II, 26); Dante (III, 134); Democritus (III, 164); Demosthenes (II, 307); Descartes (III, 140); Diderot (III, 144, 165); Diodorus (II, 21); Diogenes (III, 163); Dryden (II, 307); Duclos (III, 165); Empedocles (III, 164); Epicurus (III, 120); *Epitaphe de Marat*: printed in *Moniteur* for November 18, 1793 (II, 311); Erasmus: *Lettres* and *Eloge de la Folie* (III, 137); Ercilla (II, 79); Euripides (II, 26); Fénelon (II, 83; III, 147-62); Ficinus (III, 136); Flins: *Le Réveil d'Epiménide* (II, 83); Fontanes: *Le Jour des morts* (II, 88); Galileo (III, 142); Gassendi (III, 137); Gessner: *Evander* (II, 214, 252); Giordano Bruno (III, 137); Grotius (III, 141); Haller (II, 214); Héloise (III, 79); Helvétius (III, 145, 166); Heraclitus (II, 156; III, 164); Herodotus (II, 21); Hesiod: *Les Travaux et les jours* (*Opera et Dies*), *Théogonie*, *Le Bouclier d'Hercule* (II, 79, 80, 307); Hobbes (III, 139); Homer: *Iliad*, *Odyssey* (II, 79, 307); Joinville (III, 199); Klopstock: *Der Messias* (II, 79, 247); La Fontaine (II, 94); Lavater (II, 214); Lebrun: *Chant du banquet républicain* (II, 103); Leibnitz (III, 140); Locke (II, 85; III, 141); Mably: *Observations sur l'histoire de la Grèce* (II, 28; III, 145); Macchiavelli (III, 141); Malebranche (III, 142); Mariana (III, 141); *la Marseillaise* (II, 106); Menedus of Lampsacus (III, 163); Milton (II, 79); Montaigne (III, 210); Newton (III, 144); Nivernois: *Fables* (II, 99); Otway (III, 79); Parny: "le Tibulle français" (II, 93); Petrarch (III, 134); Phaedrus (II, 307); Pico della Mirandola (III, 136); Plato: *De Legibus* (II, 24; III, 120, 147-62); Politicien (III, 136); Pope (II, 307); Puffendorff (III, 141); Pyrrho (III, 120, 163); Pythagoras and pseudo-Pythagoras (II, 195-97); Rabelais (II, 210); Racine (II, 26, 307); Raynal (III, 172); Rousseau, Jean-Baptiste (II, 98); Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (II, 85, 118; III, 145, 147-62, 164, 166); Rousseau: quotation from *Le Contrat social* (II, 23, 114); Rousseau: *Emile* (II, 82); Rousseau: le "sublime" *Discours sur l'inégalité* (III, 289); Saint-Pierre, Bernardin de: *La Chaumière indienne* (III, 76); Saint-Pierre: *Les Harmonies de la nature* (II, 195); Saint-Pierre: *Paul et Virginie* (II, 199); *Sakuntala* (II, 249); Sapho (II, 91); Shakespeare (II, 323); Sidney, Sir Philip (II, 307); Simonides (II, 88); Socrates (III, 165); Solon (II, 95; III, 165); Spinoza (III, 140, 164); Tasso (II, 79); Thales (II, 112; III, 120); Theocritus (II, 307); Tissot (II, 214); Virgil (II, 79, 307); Virgil: Delille's translation of *Georgics* (II, 80, 219); Voltaire (II, 72, 79; III, 166); Zeno (III, 120, 163); Zoroaster: *Oracles* (II, 254).

APPENDIX B.

(Literary references in notes to *l'Essai sur les révolutions.*)

Aeschines: *De Falsis Legibus* (II, 30), *In Timarcho* (II, 39); *In Ctesiphon* (II, 72); Aeschylus (II, 26); Oesop: *Fables* (II, 93); Alcuin: *Opera* (III, 131); Anacharsis: *Voyage* (II, 111); Anacreon: *Odes* (II, 72); *Anthologia graeca* (II, 82); Apuleius: *De Mundo* (II, 220); Aristophanes: *Birds*, *Wasps* (II, 226); Aristotle: *Republic* (II, 33), *Poetics* (II, 84), *De Mirabilibus auscultationibus* (II, 164); *Politics*, *De Generatione animalium* (III, 121); Athenaeus (II, 43); *Baghvat-Geeta* (II, 242); Bartholinus: *Antiquitates danicæ* (III, 197); Bates: *Veteres selecti* (III, 137); Bayle: *Dictionnaire*, art. *Abanis* (II, 213); Bentivoglio: *Istoria delle guerre di Fiandra* (II, 299); Boileau: *Longin* (II, 91); Brigand: *Sur les langues* (II, 240); Bruce of Kinnaird, James: *Travels to discover the Sources of the Nile in 1768-73* (II, 16); Buffon: *Théorie de la terre* (II, 17); Caesar: *De Bellis gallicis* (II, 185); Camden: *Annales rerum anglicarum et hibernicarum regnante Elisabetha* (II,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

265); *Campagnes de Pichegru* (II, 74); Chamfort: *Maximes* (II, 115), *Pensées* (III, 165); Cicero: *De Natura rerum* (II, 21), *De Oratore* (II, 43), *Disputationes tusculanae* (II, 226); Claudius Aelianus: *De Natura animalium varia historia* (II, 27); *Codex juris gentium* (II, 210); Coke: *Letters on Switzerland* (II, 210); Commines, Philippe de: *Mémoires* (II, 210); *Conspiration de Louis-Philippe d'Orléans et de Max. Robespierre* (II, 75); Cook: *Voyages* (II, 18); Copernicus: *De Orbium caelestum revolutione* (III, 142); Cornelius Nepos: *Miltiades* (II, 269), *Hannibal* (II, 141); Danetus: *Dictionnaire de l'antiquité* (II, 240); Daniel: *Histoire de la France* (III, 197); Dante: *Inferno* (III, 200); Davila: *Istoria della guerra civile di Francia* (II, 216); Demosthenes: *De Falsis legibus* (II, 214); *In Leptine* (II, 226); Denina: *Istoria dell' Italia* (II, 188); *De Poesia orphica* (II, 220); Descartes: *Principia philosophiae, Meditationes philosophicae, de Prima philosophia* (III, 140); *Dictées de la Suisse* (II, 216); Diderot: *Lettres au roi de Prusse* (III, 222); Diodorus Siculus: *Dionysius* (II, 15; III, 39); Diogenes Laertius: *Solon* (II, 39), *Epaminondas* (II, 83), *Thales* (II, 112), *Heraclitus* (II, 118), *In Vitis philosophorum* (II, 130), *Anacreon* (II, 213); Dionysius Halicarnassus: *Antiquitates Romae* (II, 202); Duclos: *Considérations sur les moeurs* (II, 74); Duhalde: *Description de la Chine* (II, 16); *Edda* (II, 18); Euripides (II, 26); Eusebius Pamphilus: *Praeparatio evangelica* (II, 20); Fabricius: *Biblia graeca* (III, 137); Flavius Arrianus: *Alexandri Anabasis* (II, 205); Flins des Oliviers, Carbon de: *Le Réveil d'Epiménide* (II, 83); Fleury: *Histoire ecclésiastique, Histoire d'Auguste* (III, 193); Froissard (II, 264); *Genesis* (II, 18); *Geographia nubiensis* (II, 18); *Geographia veterum scriptorum Graecia minoris* (II, 169); Gessner: *Evander* (II, 152); Giannino: *Istoria di Napoli* (III, 199); Gibbon: *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (III, 193); Gray: *Elegy* (II, 77); Grégoire de Tours (III, 197); de Guines: *Histoire des Huns et des Tartares* (III, 193); Guthrie: *Geographical Grammar* (II, 151); Halhed: *Grammar of the Bengal Language* (II, 240); Hanno: *Periplus* (II, 142); Henry: *History of England—View of the Dress of the People of England* (II, 185); Herodotus (II, 15); Hesiod: *Opera et dies* (II, 80), *Théogonie* (III, 180); Hierocles: *In Aureis carminibus* (II, 195); Hobbes: *Philosophia rationalis, De Libris propriis, Civitas solis, Leviathan, Natura humana, De Corpore politico, Dissertatio de homine* (III, 139); Homer: *Iliad* (II, 27); Horace: *Ars poetica, Epodes* (II, 82); *Odes* (II, 93); Hume: *History of England* (II, 150); *Philosophical Essays* (III, 222); Hyde: *Historia religionis Persarum* (II, 231); Isaiah: *Chapter 23* (II, 227); Isocrates: *Panathenaeus* (II, 55), *Areopagiticus* (III, 16); Jablonsky: *In Vita Pythagoras* (II, 136); Jerome: *Contra Jovinium* (II, 232); *Job* (II, 231); Joinville: *Mémoires* (II, 199); Josephus: *Antiquitates* (II, 21); Julian: *In Caesaribus* (II, 212); Justinian (II, 50); Juvenal: *Satires* (II, 21); Kezyl: *Antiquitates septentrionales* (II, 18); Klopstock: *Des Messias* (II, 247); Koben: *Account of the Cape of Good Hope* (II, 18); La Bruyère: *Les Caractères* (II, 72); Lactantius Placidius (II, 218); La Rochefoucauld: *Maximes* (II, 115); Lavater: *Physiognomie* (II, 74); Lebrun: *Elegies* (II, 92); Leibnitz: *Calculus differentialis* (III, 140); Léon: *Description de l'Afrique* (II, 18); Livy (II, 147); Locke: *Essay on Human Understanding* (III, 141); Lokman: *Fables* (II, 232); *Louis XIV, la cour et le régent* (II, 75); Lucan (II, 185); Lucianus Samosatensis: *De Dea Syria* (II, 18); *In Tozari* (II, 206); Lucretius: *De Rerum natura* (III, 125); Mably: *Observations sur l'histoire de la Grèce* (II, 28); Machiavelli: *Istorie fiorentine* (II, 188); Malebranche: *Recherches de la vérité* (III, 142); Mallet: *Introduction à l'histoire du danois* (III, 196); Mariana (II, 182); *Mémoires du général Dumouriez* (II, 74); Meursius (Johannes van Meurs): *De Regibus atheniensibus* (II, 27); *De Archonte* (II, 33); *Miscellaniae laccdaemonienses* (II, 67); *In Pisistrato* (II, 85); *Moniteur* for November 18, 1793 (II, 111); Montesquieu: *De L'Esprit des lois* (II, 114), *Causes de la grandeur et de la décadence des Romains* (III, 193); Dr. Moore: *Journal* (II, 110); Naudé: *Apologie pour tous les grands personnages soupçonnés de magie* (II, 225); Newton: *Philosophia naturalis principia mathema-*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

tica (III, 143); *Noëls de la cour* (II, 72); d'Orléans: *Révolutions d'Angleterre* (II, 182); Ossian: *Poems* (II, 185); Ovid: *Metamorphoses* (II, 193); Parny, Chevalier de: *Oeuvres-Poésies érotiques* (II, 92); Patricius: *Nova philosophia de universis* (II, 254); Pausanias (II, 51); Pelloutier: *Lettre sur les Celtes* (II, 185); Petrarch: *Letters* (III, 200); Phaedrus (II, 84); Pindar: *Nemean Odes* (II, 204); Plato: *Laws* (II, 21), *Hipparchus* (II, 50); *Protagoras* (II, 87), *Phaedo* (II, 128), *Epistles* (III, 40), *Phaedrus, Timaeus, Republic* (III, 121); Pliny: *Historia naturalis* (II, 218); Plutarch: *Apophthegmata,* in *Scripta moralia* (II, 21); *Theseus* (II, 27); *Themistocles* (II, 31); *Solon* (II, 33), *Lycurgus* (II, 68), *Pericles* (II, 72), *Praeceptae gerendae rei publicae, Septem sapientum convivium* (II, 72), *Pelopidas, Demosthenes* (II, 74), *Agis* (II, 82), *Lycurgus,* translation of Amyot (II, 109), *Cimon* (II, 128), *De Iside et Osiride* (II, 134), *De Superstitia* (II, 141), *Timoleon* (II, 204), *Aristides* (II, 221), *Dion, De Adulatione* (III, 40), *De Placita philosophorum* (III, 123); *Poetae minores graeci* (II, 97); Policrates (III, 130); Pollaenus: *Stratagemata* (II, 222); Polybius (II, 142); Porphyrius: *De Abstinentia* (II, 134); *Protests against the Bill to repeal the American Stamp Act* (II, 153); Puffendorff: *De Druidibus* (II, 185); Quintillian (II, 82); Ramsay: *History of the American Revolution* (II, 151); l'abbé Raynal: *Histoire des deux Indes* (II, 101); Rousseau, Jean-Baptiste: *Odes* (II, 99); Rousseau: *Du Contrat social* (II, 23), *Confessions, La Nouvelle Héloïse* (II, 72), *Emile* (II, 82), *Lettre à d'Alembert* (II, 117); Robertson, William: *Historical Disquisition of India from the earliest Accounts—Appendix* (II, 17), *History of America* (II, 18), *History of Charles V* (III, 194), *History of Scotland* (III, 206); Saint-Foix: *Essai sur Paris* (III, 230); Saint-Pierre, Bernardin de: *La Chaumière indienne* (II, 5), *Etudes de la nature* (II, 195), *Paul et Virginie, Harmonies de la nature* (II, 196), *Sakuntala* (II, 249), *Satire Ménippée* (II, 72); Savary: *Voyage d'Egypte* (II, 240); Schede: *De Diis Germanicis* (II, 18); Seneca: *De Beneficiis* (II, 21), *Epistles* (III, 123), *Consolationes, Ad Marcum* (III, 124), *De Ira* (II, 51): Shelborn: *Amaenitatis letera* (III, 137); Silius Italicus (II, 182); Simler: *De Re publica Helvetiorum* (II, 209); Simplicius: *De Caelo* (II, 55); Smollett: *Travels in France* (II, 74), *Continuation to Hume's History* (II, 150), History of the House of Brunswick-Lunenburg (II, 150); Snorre's (Younger) Edda (II, 185); Sorbière: *De Vita Gassendi* (III, 137); Sophocles (II, 26); Sparrmann: *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, the Southern Polar Circle, as well as to the Country of the Hottentots* (II, 18); Spinoza: *Tractatio theologico-politica, Oratio pro Christo* (III, 140); Stobaeus: *Sermones* (II, 87), *Ecloga physica* (II, 193); Strabo: *Geographia* (II, 27, 136); Suidas: *Lexikon,* art. *Cadmus* (II, 84), art. *Sappho* (II, 91), art. *Zamolxas* (II, 212), art. *Toxaris* (II, 216); Tacitus: *Germania* (II, 185); Theodosius II: *Codex* (III, 130); Theophrastus: *Characters* (II, 72); Thucydides (II, 34); Turreau: *Guerre de la Vendée* (II, 126); Valerius Maximus (II, 115); Velleius Paterculus (II, 28); *Vie privée de Louis XIV et du duc de Richelieu* (II, 75); Virgil: *Georgics* (II, 80), *Aeneid* (II, 232); Viviani: *Vita Galilei, Acta philosophica, Systema cosmicum* (III, 142); Volney: *Les Ruines* (III, 228); Voltaire: *Contes et mélanges, Correspondance générale* (II, 72), *Le Siècle de Louis XIV* (II, 74), *Henriade, Zaïre* (II, 74), *Mélanges de poésie, Stances sur la vieillesse* (II, 86), *Lettre à l'abbé d'Olivet sur sa prosodie* (II, 103), *Dictionnaire philosophique* (III, 222); *Voyage à la recherche de M. de la Peyrouse,* in *Journal* of M. Peltier, nos. 64-65 (II, 19); Weizius: *In Heortologio* (III, 131); Werensdorf: *Declarationes ad Hoiddbergentes* (III, 137); Xenophon: *Cyropaedia* (II, 21), *De Re publica Lacedaemonorum* (II, 55), *Histoire de Grèce* (II, 65), *Expeditiones Cyri* (II, 226), *Memorabilia* (III, 22).

Note:—Practically all these titles are given in abbreviated forms by Chateaubriand. For Greek and Latin works, the titles here used are, for the most part, those indicated by Chateaubriand; thus, it can frequently be determined when he was using an original and when a translation. The titles of very well known classical works, however, are given in the forms current

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

in English. The volume and page references are to the Pourrat frères edition of the *Oeuvres complètes*, Paris 1836-38. It should be repeated that Chateaubriand had undoubtedly not read all, nor perhaps even the greater part, of the above-mentioned works, from cover to cover. He may, indeed, have found some of the titles in general reference works such as Bayle's *Dictionnaire* or the *Encyclopédie*. The mere fact, however, that he was acquainted with the very names of so many works on such widely differing subjects is in itself significant for Chateaubriand's reading up to and during the first years of his *émigration*.

APPENDIX C

The following six titles, not included in the above list, are so obscure as to baffle all attempts on the part of the present writer to determine their reference. In the case of three of the titles, conjectures, which may or may not be sound, are offered; as for the other three, the writer is frankly ignorant. The titles are:

a. Carl.: *Lettres sur l'Amérique* (II, 18); this may be a reference to letters writen by Joseph-Antoine Carlet, who published in Paris, in 1823, *Quelques considérations sur l'Amérique*.

b. Pet.: *In Legibus atticis* (II, 39); this may be from a work by Denis Pétau, thea uthor of a *Rationarium temporum in XIII libris*, which was published in Paris in 1633-34.

c. Vert.: *Histoire des Croisades* (III, 199); this may be another name for the *Histoire de l'ordre de Malte* of the abbé René Aubert de Vertot, published in 1726.

d. Abb.: *Chronique d'Allemagne* (III, 199)

e. Laf.: *Moeurs des sauvages* (II, 18)

f. *Test. Pol. de Joseph.* (II, 265)

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

BRIEF ARTICLES AND NOTES

ROY'S PORTRAIT OF MONCRIF

In an article "A Quarrel of Poets: Voltaire, Moncrif and Roy," *Philological Quarterly*, II (1923), 209-223, I have tried to reconstitute the incidents of a battle of wit between these pugnacious poets, which soon culminated in real blows. In October, 1734, Moncrif took revenge on Roy, in his own and in Voltaire's name, by giving him a merciless thrashing. Soon after, in December, 1734, Moncrif lost his position as secretary of the Prince de Clermont, and Roy, triumphing in his turn, circulated manuscript copies of a satirical portrait of Moncrif. Since it throws additional light on this quarrel I publish it here from MS 13661 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Fol. 579:

Portrait satirique, fait par Roy sur Moncrif qui lui a donné des coups de bâton.—Décembre 1734.

Muses, reprenez le pinceau,
Ou pour jamais je vous abjure !
Il faut par quelque trait nouveau
Peindre Moncrif ! Quoi ! Ce cerveau ?
Lui-même ! Son orgueil murmure
De ce que de vous nul tableau
N'immortalise sa figure !
Votre paresse est une injure !
Fut-il jamais sujet plus beau ?
Muses, reprenez le pinceau,
Ou pour jamais je vous abjure !

D'un zéphyr badin,
Qui folâtre avec Flore,
Ou d'un amant malin
Qui sur le sein
De l'objet qu'il adore
Médite un doux larcin,
Prenez l'air enfantin,
Muses, et demain,
Au lever de l'aurore,
Le crayon à la main,
Offrez vous au poupin
Prêtes à lui tracer son mérite!
Tout est possible à l'art divin!
Qu'il parle, qu'à rire il excite,
Non par enjouement libertin,
Non par bons mots d'élite,
Tels qu'à Piron dans un festin
Le Dieu Mome souvent en dicte,

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Mais par le ton pedant et vain
Dont sa morgue sans fin
Sait enfler le vieux qu'il débite!
Placez Phoebus dans un lointain
Qui du sifflet l'invite
A rimailler quelque dizain
Pour loyer du terrain
Qu'au bourbier du Pinde il habite;
Plus loin encore placez le Rhin,
Et qu'en deça soit la guérite
D'où notre Trivelin,
Bravoit cet été le Germain,
A la manière de Tersite.[1]

Item, en cercle féminin
Que l'air précieux l'accrédite;
Chez le Bourgeois, qui s'en irrite,
Qu'il piaffe d'un ton de dédain,
Et qu'à la cour en parasite
Il soit flatteur patelin;
Pour composer oeuvre érudite,
Qu'il pense, repense et médite,
Et qu'en dépit de son Latin,
De Rodillard et de Griffin
La légende proscrite,[2]
Soit huée aussitôt qu'écrite;
Qu'il ait la perruque à boudin,
L'épaule haute, l'escarpin;
Que son cerveau de vent soit plein,
Que sa tête toujours s'agite,
Et, pour ne rien omettre enfin,
Qu'il soit aussi fat que Crispin
Jouant un marquis en visite!

Columbia University GUSTAVE L. VAN ROOSBROECK

NOTES ON PLATO, *LAWS* 886E-887A

Laws 886E: **πότερον ἀπολογησώμεθα οἷον κατηγορήσαντός τινος ἐν ἀσεβέσιν ἀνθρώποις ἡμῶν, φεύγουσι περὶ τῆς νομοθεσίας λέγουσι ὡς δεινὰ ἐργαζόμεθα νομοθετοῦντες ὡς ὄντων θεῶν.**

The most recent editor of the *Laws*, E. B. England, rejects the emendations which have been proposed, follows Schneider in taking φεύγουσι as dative after λέγουσι, not in agreement with it, and translates: "men who tell those who are on their defence against the Law that we have no right to lay it down that gods exist." He is right, I believe, in his construction, if we are to suppose the reading of the manuscripts to be sound, and right in rejecting the interpretations of Stallbaum and Ast. But τῆς νομοθεσίας cannot be equivalent to τοῦ νόμου, especially when it is followed

[1] In 1734, Moncrif was with the Army of the Rhine, but in a safe capacity, as secretary of the Prince de Clermont.

[2] Allusion to Moncrif's *Livre des Chats*, 1727.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

in the next clause by νομοθετοῦντες, and φεύγειν περὶ τῆς νόμοθεσίας must mean "to be prosecuted for one's legislation," i.e., for having laid down a bad or inexpedient law. The meaning of the passage will be: "saying to us, accused as we are on the score of our legislation, that, etc." The occurrence of φεύγουσι immediately after ἡμῶν is, of course, very harsh, but the difficulty of this interpretation is less, I believe, than that of the interpretation of England.

Laws 887A: οὐ γάρ τι βραχὺς ὁ λόγος ἐκταθεὶς ἂν γίγνοιτο, εἰ τοῖσιν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἀσεβεῖν τὰ μὲν ἀποδείξαιμεν μετρίως τοῖς λόγοις ἂν ἔφραζον δεῖν πέρι λέγειν, τὸν δὲ εἰς φόβον τρέψαιμεν, τὰ δὲ δυσχεραίνειν ποιήσαντες, ὅσα πρέπει μετὰ ταῦτα ἤδη νομοθετοίμεν.

Burnet alone keeps τὸν δὲ of the manuscripts; most editors accept Stephanus' τὰ δὲ; Hermann and England read Winckelmann's τῶν δὲ. England, however, offers in his notes an interpretation of τὸν δὲ, as well as of τῶν δὲ:

If we were, to begin with, duly to expound in argument to the would-be impious the points on which they said we ought to speak—and were (so) to put the fear of God into my accuser—and then only after making the accuser shrink (from impiety) were to start making the necessary enactments.

But in this interpretation England disregards the obviously partitive force of τὰ μὲν and τὰ δὲ, makes τὸν δέ which comes between them refer to the accuser of 886E in contrast to the "would-be impious," and apparently considers putting the fear of God into the accuser and making him shrink from impiety the results of the logical demonstration of theism. But the Athenian has in mind, I believe, to do three things: to make a logical demonstration of the existence of gods, to make use of the motive of fear, to inspire an emotional shrinking from impiety. One might object that logically an appeal to the motive of fear ought not to be made in this exhortation which is to precede the enactment of the law against impiety; but this is assumed to be Plato's meaning in every interpretation of the passage save the one which we are now discussing. Light is shed upon the meaning of δυσχεραίνειν by such passages as *Rep.* 366C, where it is used of an inborn antipathy for injustice in contrast to a reasoned abstinence from it, and 388A, where it is used of the repugnance for the excessive indulgence of grief, produced by a sound, non-philosophical training. Since these three methods of deterrence will not be equally efficacious against all would-be offenders, Plato expresses himself thus: "If in part

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

we make a satisfactory logical demonstration, if we inspire fear in another offender, if in part we produce a feeling of repugnance for impiety." The sequence τὰ μέν, τὸν δέ, τὰ δέ is harsh, without doubt, but not impossible with this explanation. It is to be observed that this is the same general sense which Ast, reading τὰ δέ for τὸν δέ, gets out of the passage.

ROGER MILLER JONES
University of California

COLLE IDENTIFIED AS A COLLABORATOR ON THE *ANECDOTES DRAMATIQUES*

The authorship of the *Anecdotes dramatiques,* Paris 1775, is usually attributed to the Abbé de la Porte and Jean M. B. Clement jointly. In the foreword to their work these authors admit the assistance of two collaborators, one of whom was Piron, the other an unnamed person whose identity has hitherto been a matter of conjecture.

The preface of the *Anecdotes dramatiques* credits Piron with the idea of publishing a collection of theater anecdotes and furthermore states that some of the material used in compiling the work was borrowed from him.[1] The second collaborator, for no apparent reason, is deliberately masked in a most mysterious veil of anonymity. His contributions received the following very intriguing acknowledgment:

> Nous en avons eu aussi plusieurs d'une autre personne, que nous ne nommerons pas, qui fréquente depuis longtemps les spectacles, et a rassemblé avec soin tout ce qu'il avoit écrit à ce sujet, à mesure qu'il l'avoit appris, ou qu'il en avoit été le témoin. Il a su rendre ces anecdotes plus piquantes encore par la tournure agréable qu'il leur donne, et par l'enjouement de son style; nous sommes obligés d'être modérés sur son éloge de peur de le faire connaître.[2]

The hints contained in the passage just cited as to the identity of this mysterious co-worker are broad enough and imply that he was not only an assiduous theater-goer but also a critical observer of the theater world, i.e., he kept a record of such events in diary form. Now Charles Collé, 1709-1783, *chansonnier* and dramatic author, kept such a record in his *Journal historique* covering a

[1] "M'idée de ce recueil d'anecdotes sur le théâtre avait été fourni par feu M. Piron, qui en savoit un grand nombre, dont nous avons fait usage, et qui lui-même était l'auteur de plusieurs bons mots et traits plaisants sur différentes pièces qu'il avait vu jouer." *Anecdotes dramatiques,* I, 1. Paris, 1775.

[2] *Ibid.*

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

period of twenty-five years.[3] The stylistic characteristics to which attention is called point to some author much in favor for the piquancy and sprightly humour of his writing. Collé was much talked of for his clever, if scandalously free, comedies and erotic songs. The description fits Collé; but since no names are mentioned, any hypothesis as to identity calls for corroboration of a more precise stamp. It is not wanting. The *Journal historique* contains an entry under date of October, 1770, which eliminates all possibility of doubt as to Collé's collaboration.

J'ai passé le mois d'octobre à la campagne; j'y ai travaillé à rassembler des anecdotes de théâtre, que j'ai recueillies dans les volumes du présent Journal, et que j'ai données à M. l'abbé de la Porte, pour lui servir dans un ouvrage qu'il compose; il m'avoit prié de lui rendre ce petit office, et quoique ce travail ait été long, pénible et ennuyeux, etc.[4]

If the work to which Collé here refers is the *Anecdotes dramatiques*, as it must be, then there can be no shadow of doubt as to the identity of the person referred to.

Furthermore, a comparison of texts proves Collé's *Journal* as the source of many of the anecdotes. In some instances, especially in briefer passages, Collé's material has been transferred with very slight modifications, often a mere change from the first person of the diary to the more impersonal editorial tone. The following collated passages will illustrate this point.

Anecdotes dramatiques	*Collé*
Le fond du sujet est pris de Clarisse et de l'aventure du Comte de Belflor (*sic*) racontée dans le Diable Boiteux. Beaucoup de scènes en sont prises des Généreux Ennemis, Comédie de Scarron; et du Point d'honneur, Comédie de M.Le Sage.[5]	Tout le fond est pris dans Clarisse et dans quelques autres romans; dans l'aventure du Comte de Belfort, racontée dans le Diable Boiteux; dans la comédie des Généreux Ennemis, de Scarron, dans la comédie du Point d'honneur de M.Le Sage.[6]
Cette pièce avait été lue aux Comédiens qui l'avait d'abord refusée. Le Sieur Molé la fit recevoir à une seconde lecture qu'il leur en fit. L'auteur lui avait fait présent de ses honoraires.[7]	M. de Beaumarchais, qui en a fait présent à Preville, comme l'auteur de Julie a fait à Molé de la sienne. Quoqu'il en soit, Julie refusée d'abord par les Comédiens, relue à eux une seconde fois par Molé, qui par ses petites intrigues la leur a fait enfin recevoir.[8]

[3] *Journal historique ou mémoires critiques littéraires* par Charles Collé, Paris, 1807. Edited by Barbier. A second edition was published by Bonhomme in 1868, under title of *Journal et mémoires de Charles Collé.*

[4] *Journal de Collé* (Bonhomme), III, 275.

[5] *Anec. dram.*, I, 328.

[6] *Journal de Collé,* III, 125.

[7] *Anec. dram.*, I, 490.

[8] *Journal de Collé,* III, 231.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Le commencement du premier acte en fut fort applaudi; la dernière scène de ce même acte fut huée; le mécontentement ne discontinua pas au seconde acte; à la seconde scène du troisième des expressions peu ménagées et sans délicatesse ayant choqué la salle entière dans cet instant un homme aux troisième loges, s'avisa d'éternuer d'une façon éclatante et comique; des lors on n'écouta plus: l'on rit; les huées redoublèrent. L'actrice qui était alors en scène, fit un humble révérence au Public et la pièce n'alla pas plus loin:il ne fut pas dit trente vers de ce troisième acte. Il n'y point d'exemple au théâtre d'un sort pareil à celui de cette comédie.[9]

Le commencement du premier acte fut fort applaudi; la dernière scène de cet acte fut huée. On continua au seconde à bafouer l'auteur encore plus vivement; et à la seconde scène du troisième acte, un dialogue grossier et révoltant ayant choqué toute la salle, un homme placé au paradis, s'avisa dans cet instant même d'éternuer exprès comiquement; les ris et les huées re-redoublèrent. Mme Preville fit la révérence au public et la pièce n'alla pas plus loin que cette deuxième scène du troisième acte. Depuis que je vais au théâtre, je ne me souviens point d'avoir vu une chute aussi ignominieuse.[10]

The importance of the Collé *Journal* for study of the eighteenth century theater is seen in the fact that such literary historians as Ste. Beuve, Lintilhac, Lenient, Lanson and others have drawn freely from its store of material. Such special studies as Lanson's work on La Chaussée, Auguste Font's essay on Favart, and Gaiffe's *magnum opus* on the *drame* abound in references to Collé's memoirs. Gaiffe ranks the Collé *Journal* alongside of the Grimm, Diderot *Correspondance littéraire* and La Harpe's *Correspondance littéraire.*

Collé's collaboration on the *Anecdotes dramatiques* is an indication of the fact that he was highly esteemed by his contemporaries for his knowledge of plays and their authors. Clement and La Porte were among the first, if not the very first, to recognize the historical-documentary value of Collé's own record of the history of the eighteenth century theater.

Wittenberg College. OLAV K. LUNDEBERG

A NOTE ON THE AREOPAGUS

The existence of the Areopagus as a definite literary organization of the latter half of the sixteenth century has been called into question. The most convincing arguments toward its non-existence as a formal body have been advanced by Dr. Howard Maynadier.[1] He is of the opinion that Edmund Spenser, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir

[9] *Anec. dram.*, I, 480.

[10] *Journal de Collé*, II, 365.

[1] "Areopagus of Sidney and Spenser," *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, IV, 269.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Edward Dyer, Gabriel Harvey, and Fulke Greville were friends but that they were at no time united in a coterie with specific literary ends in view as were the members of the Pléiade in France. His chief reasons are: There are no contemporary references to the society, with the exception of its mention once by Spenser and once by Harvey. The first mention of its existence by historians occurs in the middle of the nineteenth century. Spenser and Harvey seem to use the name of the great Athenian tribunal humorously, Dr. Maynadier thinks, in reference to themselves and their friends.

The last point is important. It has J. J. Jusserand's support: "He [Spenser] informs Harvey that Sidney, Dyer, etc., formed into an 'areopagus' (a facetious way of speaking; the 'areopagus' was not a real academy, and does not seem to have had any existence as a constituted body)."[2] Jusserand gives no evidence, however, to support his opinion.

All theories concerning the Areopagus are based on the two references in the Spenser-Harvey letters. Spenser wrote to Harvey in October, 1579:

> As for the twoo worthy Gentlemen, Master Sidney and Master Dyer, they haue me, I thanke them, in some use of familiarity: of whom, and to whome, what speache passeth for your credite and estimation, I leaue your selfe to conceiue, hauing alwayes so well conceiued of my vnfained affection and zeale towardes you. And now they haue proclaimed in their ἀρείῳ πάγῳ a generall surceasing and silence of balde Rhymers, and also of the verie beste to: in steade whereof, they haue, by autho[ri]ties of their whole Senate, prescribed certaine Lawes and rules of Quantities of English sillables for English verse, hauing had thereof already greate practise, and drawen mee to their faction.[3]

Later in the month Harvey answered the letter. After several attempts at humor he says:

> Your new-founded ἄρειον πάγον I honoure more than you will or can suppose, and make greater accompte of the twoo worthy Gentlemenne, than of two hundreth *Dionissi Areopagitae,* or the verye notablest Senatours that euer *Athens* dydde affourde of that number.[4]

It is quite probable that the two friends are here using humorously a word which was current at the time. That the word *Areopagus,* or its derivative *Areopagite,* was current at the time and was given a general and sometimes a satiric application is borne out by testimony which no scholar thus far has taken into consideration. The Areopagus, if it existed at all as a formal body, would probably have been functioning in 1581, a little more than

[2] *A Literary History of the English People,* II, 355.

[3] Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays,* I, 89.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 94.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

a year after the Spenser-Harvey letters. In this year Thomas Newton, in the dedicatory epistle to Sir Thomas Heneage in *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies,* writes in anticipation of adverse criticism:

> And whereas it is by some squeymish Areopagites surmyzed, that the readinge of these Tragedies, being interlarded with many Phrases and sentences literally tending (at the first sight) sometyme to the prayse of Ambition, sometyme to the mayntenaunce of cruelty, now and then to the approbation of incontinencie, and here and there to the ratification of tyranny, can not be digested without great daunger of infection: to omit all other reasons, if it might please them with no forestalled judgment to work and consider the circumstaunces, why, where, and by what manner of persons such sentences are pronounced, they cannot in any equity otherwise chose, but find good cause ynough to lead them to a more favourable and mild resolution.[5]

At first glance it might seem that Thomas Newton in the phrase "some squeymish Areopagites" is referring to the society which Spenser and Harvey mention. This, however, is hardly possible. Harvey was a fanatic advocate of all things classical. Spenser in his works was non-committal on the Senecan Tragedies, and Sidney held Seneca in high esteem. Sidney weighed all English drama in the scale of Seneca and found it wanting. In *An Apology for Poetry* he says:

> Our Tragedies and Comedies (not without cause cried out against), obseruing rules neyther of honest ciuilitie nor of skilfull Poetrie, excepting *Gorboduck* (againe, I say, of those that I haue seene), which notwithstanding, as it is full of stately speeches and well sounding Phrases, clyming to the height of *Seneca* his stile, and as full of notable moralitie, which it doth most delightfully teach, and so obtayne the very end of Poesie, yet in troth it is very defectious in the circumstaunces, which greeueth mee, because it might not remaine as an exact model of all Tragedies.[6]

It is fairly certain that Thomas Newton had no reference to any definite organization in his use of the term "some squeymish Areopagites." The context suggests that he is defending the Tragedies against the attack of the Puritans, probably against Gosson and his followers, since the *School of Abuse* appeared in 1579.

The conclusion which presents itself from the foregoing evidence is that the word *Areopagus* was applied in the latter half of the sixteenth century to any group of persons which arrogated to itself the province of a judiciary body. Spenser and Harvey use it in this manner, engaging in pedantic pleasantry. At any rate, Thomas Newton's use of the word should be taken into account in any discussion of the organization to which Spenser, Sidney, Dyer, Greville, and Harvey are supposed to have belonged.

Western Reserve University FREDERIC E. FAVERTY

[5] *Publications of the Spenser Society,* No. 43, 1887, p. 2.

[6] Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays,* I, 196.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ANATOLE FRANCE AND COPERNICUS

In the course of his self-asserting explanation of the spagirist's art to Jacques Tournebroche, M. d'Astarac makes in the *Rôtisserie de la reine Pédauque* the following statement concerning Copernicus:

"Le système du monde, que le chanoine Copernic enseignait au siècle dernier, d'après Aristarque de Samos et les philosophes pythagoriciens, vous est sans doute connu, puisqu'on en a fait même des abrégés pour les petits grimauds d'école et des dialogues à l'usage des caillettes de la ville" (p. 132).

From data to be collected in the novel we know in a peremptory way that the events referred to in the *Rôtisserie de la reine Pédauque* took place in the 18th century. The *Rose-Croix,* a book on magic, which Jacques mentions as being very popular at the time he undertakes to relate his ten months' experience with alchemy is said in a note by the editor to have been written in the second half of the 18th century. Of course, it would be impossible to settle the question on this sole evidence. As the story which Jacques narrates in his old age was brought to a close by the death of his master, Jérôme Coignard, when Jacques was only a youth of 19, it would not be unfeasible to place the time of the action at the end of the 17th century. However, this hypothesis has to be discarded after M. d'Astarac's allusion to Spinoza (p. 244) and Descartes (p. 273) "who lived in the last century," and M. d'Anquetil's reminiscences of the battle of Parma which was fought in 1734 (p. 196). So, from the words *au siècle dernier* in the above quotation it is to be inferred that Copernicus lived in the same century as Spinoza and Descartes—the 17th. In view of the careful erudition of Anatole France, whether this chronological negligence should be ascribed to him or to M. d'Astarac is a question which is open for discussion.

Marquette University J. M. CARRIERE

AN OLD ACQUAINTANCE OF MAURICE DONNAY

At first sight, one might be puzzled at the exact meaning of the following passage found in the opening scene of *Les Eclaireuses*:

"*Paul.*—Oui, qu'elles soient peintres, sculpteurs, poètes, romancières et même avocats . . . . du moment qu'il s'agit de parler, c'est leur affaire . . . (*Jeanne s'incline.*) Qu'est-ce que tu fais?

Jeanne.—C'est une plaisanterie que je connais, alors, je salue."[1]

[1] Maurice Donnay, *Théâtre,* Fasquelle, Paris, 1919, VII, 129.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Jeanne's bowing and greeting seem rather incomprehensible. The terms used by the author are indefinite; it seems as if something necessary to the precision of the thought was missing. As a matter of fact, the text loses its vagueness only by introducing a famous anecdote:

> A young man was reading to Piron a tragedy containing verses borrowed here and there. At every plagiarism, Piron took off his hat. When asked by the author of the play what was the reason for this gesture, the sarcastic poet replied: "I have acquired the habit of making a bow whenever I meet an old acquaintance of mine."[1]

Evidently this anecdote was also an old acquaintance of Maurice Donnay who remembered it—at least subconsciously—when he wrote the lines quoted. He reproduced its main motives: Jeanne bows as Piron does; Paul's question is exactly the same as that of the young author and Jeanne's answer expresses or attempts to express the same thought as Piron's. However, Maurice Donnay remembered the last part of the anecdote only imperfectly, for his wording of Jeanne's reply is less striking and less definite. The word *habit* which, indeed, conveyed the essence of the witticism is dropped; instead of the substantive *acquaintance* he uses the verb *connaître* and thus the meaning of the passage referred to has become more vague and scarcely intelligible.

Marquette University J. M. Carriere

LICHTENBERG'S "*WUEESTE, BIBLIOTHEK*"

In a previous note in the *Philological Quarterly*[2] I remarked that it would be interesting if someone, say, in old Göttingen itself, could prove that the poem from which I had occasion to quote was indeed written by Lichtenberg himself, as had been suggested by Richard M. Meyer. Confirmatory of Meyer's conjecture, I now find, is the following note in volume two, page 395, of *Lichtenbergs Briefe*, a work which has just been acquired by the University of Iowa:

> Das 'alte Gedicht' ist von Lichtenberg selbst; vgl. Schreiben an einen Freund Vers 5 (aus Lichtenbergs Nachlass S.117).

I regret that I am unable, at this time, to quote the entire poem, as the *Nachlass* is not accessible to me here.

---

[1] P. Larousse, *Grand Dictionaire Universel du xix^e Siècle*, art. Piron.

[2] "Heine's *Harzreise* Once More," *Philological Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 1 (January, 1926), pp. 54-55.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

My chief concern in the notes I have published in the little matter in question was to show that the juxtaposition of *Würste und Universität* in the famous first sentence of Heine's *Harzreise* is no longer to be regarded as the author's own original conceit, as various editors of the text have hitherto led one to suppose.

University of Iowa C. H. Ibershoff

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

BOOK REVIEWS

Festskrift til Amund B. Larsen på hans 75-aars fødselsdag. 246 pp. Kristiania, Aschehoug & Co., 1924.

Dr. Amund B. Larsen has devoted a long life largely to intensive investigation of Modern Norwegian dialects. Between 1882 and 1924, he made almost yearly trips to different districts for observation and tabulation, and has recorded his results in a great number of monographs and articles. In appreciation of this achievement, friends and co-workers have published and dedicated to Dr. Larsen on his seventy-fifth birthday a volume of linguistic studies which deserve the careful attention of all those interested in more specialized linguistic investigation—particularly in the Norwegian field.

Of the seventeen articles only four deal with problems not specifically Norwegian. One, by Alf Sommerfelt, seeks an explanation of the physiological and psychological causes of the "breaking" of vowels in North Germanic. Marius Kristensen, in another, discusses certain phonological phenomena in the dialects of the Faeroes and Shetland; and in a third, Hesselman gives a very plausible explanation of the Swedish word *juglon*. The fourth, by Georg Sverdrup, discusses Primitive Germanic *bh *dh *gh.

Of the other articles, two are of an historic nature, one giving a survey of investigations of the Norwegian language prior to those of Ivar Aasen, and the other a brief account of one of these investigations—a vocabulary found among the papers of Bishop Gunnerus—with a reprint of the most interesting items. Two articles deal with Norwegian place names, and another, *Skjæks öl*, by Carl Marstrander, throws interesting light on the linguistic contacts of Norway with Celtic territory.

But the bulk of the volume deals with problems of Norwegian dialects. These studies fall in two groups,—first, investigations of the dialects of whole districts, and second, investigations of the language of certain cities. In the first group, the most significant are Olai Skulerud's *Sör-austlanske målföre etter samlingar av Johan Storm* and D. A. Seip's *Et Gammelt sjömalsfenomen*. Skulerud gives as an introduction a full account of Johan Storm's work in the Norwegian field with a tabulation of all the Storm manuscripts (giving in phonetic transcription his observation on Norwegian linguistic phenomena) now deposited in the university library at Oslo. The extent of the collection is remarkable when we consider that Storm's field was English and French, not Norwegian; and its value is certain, for few scholars have had Storm's keen ear and thorough training in phonetics. The bulk of Skulerud's article is a record of the dialects along the Kristiania fjord from Larvik to Oslo, based on Storm's collections with much added material from the writer's own observation. A somewhat clearer account of his methods and, at times, a less condensed form would add greatly to the value of the work.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Seip treats the development kn > ngn and tn > nn in the coastal districts around the Kristiania fjord. The change is found all the way from the Götaelv in the East to Lindesnes in the West, and extends a considerable distance inland. It is therefore independent of and more extensive than the change p t k > b d g in the so-called "blöte sone." And its presence antedates possible Danish influence upon the spelling. Seip comes to the interesting conclusion that with the rise of Oslo and the counties along the fjord to a leading commercial and political position in Norway in the 14th century, the "coastal language" became of national significance and made its influence felt far inland.

The study of the language of the cities is comparatively new in Norway, the first work of significance in the field being A. B. Larsen's *Kristiania bymal* (publ. 1909). The local and national patriotism largely responsible for the first studies of Norwegian dialects turned to the "purer" language of the country districts which was not "corrupted" by Danish or by the influence of the educated classes. In the present volume, Trygve Knudsen gives a clear survey of the Tönsberg dialect, M. Berntsen analyses the preservation of forms with *u*- and *w*-umlaut in the Stavanger dialect, and Magnus Olsen presents a study of the conflict between grammatical and natural gender in Southern and Eastern city dialects. All of these studies emphasize the constant conflict between the dialect of the country districts and the superimposed "cultural" language of the city population.

The volume closes with a valuable bibliography, prepared by Sigurd Kolsrud, of all the important articles and monographs published by Dr. Larsen.

University of Iowa HENNING LARSEN

Éginhard. Vie de Charlemagne. Éditée et traduite par Louis Halphen, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux. (*Les Classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Age*). xxiv + 127 pp. Paris, Champion, 1923. 7.50 fr.

This volume is the first of a series appearing under the general editorship of M. Louis Halphen. The purpose of this series is to furnish authentic texts accompanied by faithful translations and adequate but not burdensome critical apparatus. The introduction has an account of the author, the important MSS and translations, and a brief bibliography. The Latin text conforms to the orthography of the MS 510 in the National Library at Vienna. Variants of historical or philological importance are given in the footnotes. M. Halphen shows that Eginhard's laudatory account of Charlemagne must be very carefully controlled; he relied greatly on previous works, particularly the *Royal Annals*, and followed his classical model, Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*, at times verbatim. He commits numerous surprising errors, even when writing of the last years of Charlemagne. Text and translation appear on opposite pages. The translation follows the original faithfully, with one or two exceptions; e.g., on pp. 82-83, where *Item barbara et antiquissima carmina . . . scripsit* is rendered *Il fit transcrire . . .*, etc. If succeeding volumes of the series equal the present work in excellence they will prove a boon to scholars in that field.

University of Iowa WALTHER I. BRANDT

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Nature in American Literature: Studies in the Modern View of Nature, by Norman Foerster. xiii + 324 pp. The Macmillan Company, New York. 1923.

In this volume Professor Foerster has gathered together and elaborated certain papers about leading American commentators upon nature which have appeared from time to time in various periodicals. Beginning with Bryant, he gives passing consideration to Cooper (whom he credits with "a faculty for portraying the majesty of nature such as no other American writer has exhibited"), and then passes on to Whittier. The Emerson essay deals chiefly with the poetry, and is finely discriminating. In reading the paragraph about Emerson's love of roses, I could not but recall that favorite anecdote quoted by Holmes from a letter of Dr. LeBaron Russell: how, as they were admiring Mrs. Emerson's garden roses, "as if by a sudden impulse, Emerson lifted his hat gently, and said with a low bow, 'I take off my hat to it.'" The essays on Thoreau and Burroughs are, appropriately, the most elaborate in the book; and the one on Muir is very interesting. Lowell's true place as a nature-writer is well shown; as is that of Lanier, though there may be those to quarrel with the dictum that no other poets had presented the southern scene with any adequacy before Lanier. Whitman as a nature-poet is treated appreciatively and discriminatingly. Indeed, the whole book is remarkable for a very discriminating appreciation. Professor Foerster has made a careful study of the writings he discusses—even a statistical study of them—and has done it without killing the spirit of his interpretation. Moreover, he has some knowledge himself of the natural history of the regions in which most of the writers treated have lived. This book is a definite addition to the criticism of American literature. It has an excellent factual basis—an element which too many critical lucubrations lack.

University of Iowa — FRANK LUTHER MOTT

Sketches of Eighteenth Century America: More "Letters from an American Farmer," by St. John de Crèvecoeur. Edited by Henri L. Bourdin, Ralph H. Gabriel, and Stanley T. Williams. 342 pp. Yale University Press, New Haven. 1925.

These new essays of the French-American sentimentalist will not enhance his reputation as a man of letters, except, perhaps, in the department of narrative writing. Aside from the pleasing sketch of the snow-storm, there is nothing in the volume that has the charm of Letters I, II, III, or X of the book by which Crèvecoeur has hitherto been known. Very striking, however, are such narratives as "The American Belisarius" and "History of Mrs. B." Readers who are not estopped from such investigation by the conviction that there was no short story before Irving will find the study of these tales most interesting. Moreover, the student of rural conditions in colonial times will find here a mine of information.

The preface consists of essays by the three editors. Professor Gabriel writes historically on "Crèvecoeur and His Times;" Professor Bourdin tells about how he discovered the manuscripts, and incidentally gives us some valuable information about the author in a foot note; while Professor Williams, in his

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

essay "Crèvecoeur as a Man of Letters," contends that he was *not* one. This thesis of Professor Williams's is open to objection. Of course Crèvecoeur was not a professional man of letters: who was, in the American colonies? But to deny that he was interested, and greatly interested, in belles lettres for their own sake is, I think, a mistake. It is true that much of the material in this volume is utilitarian; but if one joins to a reading of these *Sketches* a consideration of the *Lettres d'un Cultivateur Américain* as well as the *Letters of an American Farmer* of which the French letters are variants, he cannot escape the conviction that not only did their author have a strong sense of literary values as such, but he consciously joined himself to a literary school. "He is not to be dismissed as Rousseauistic or sentimental, or a pseudo-naturalist or a freak," says Professor Williams, truly enough; yet it is useless to deny that he was Rousseauistic and sentimental and a lover of nature.

It is unfortunate that the editors of the text of this volume chose to adopt a method which, however suitable it may be for a popular audience which the book is unlikely to reach, deprives it of much of the value which it should possess for students. I refer particularly to changes in orthography and diction. All students of American literature, however, should be thankful to have the book.

University of Iowa — FRANK LUTHER MOTT

"The Grail and the English Sir Perceval," by A. C. L. Brown. *Modern Philology*, XVI-XXII (1919-24).

A thorough examination of the Celtic parallels to the Perceval story is a desideratum which Professor Brown here supplies. He points out arguments for the independence of the *Conte del Graal*, *Sir Perceval*, and *Parzival*; for the existence of a narrative of a controlling fée which left its traces on the *Lanzelet*, the thirteenth century *Floriant et Florete*, and even on the *Prose Lancelot*. The argument then shifts to the similarities between *Sir Perceval* and Irish sagas which deal particularly with the incident of a feast disturbed by a demon. The story which lies behind *Sir Perceval* displays many resemblances to Irish tradition and was therefore presumably Irish.

The method of argumentation consists in reducing the Arthurian romances to formulae, in finding these formulae recurring in Irish tradition, and then in equating the attendant circumstances of the Arthurian and Irish sources, with the result that curiously similar details are brought to light. The procedure is more reasonable than a planless search for agreements, and the results seem more convincing. Yet the dangers are obvious and the temptation to identify disparate materials is always present. Hahn's brilliant and ingenious "Aryan Expulsion and Return Formula" comes at once to mind as an example of the method. But to what extent can this formula be utilized in the arsenal of scholarly weapons? To what extent does it enable us to reconstruct stories?

Indeed this reduction to a formula of Professor Brown's study where the merits are wealth of detail and marshaling of concrete parallels exposes itself to the just implied criticism. For its abundant and striking evidence bearing on a knotty problem the study bespeaks our attention; as a logical attack on the problem and as an essay in method it deserves serious consideration.

University of Chicago — ARCHER TAYLOR

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

An Introduction to Spanish Literature, by George Tyler Northup. x + 473 pp. University of Chicago Press, 1925.

While scholarly handbooks of Spanish literature have not been lacking, none has met in a satisfactory way the needs of the American class room. Professor Northup's book gives good promise of filling this gap. It covers with about equal fullness all periods of the literature of Spain, but touches that of Spanish America only when its influence has been felt in the mother country. The subject matter is divided into chapters of convenient length, with a subtitle for every important paragraph. The author gains in clearness by not accepting throughout a single basis of division. Usually each chapter treats a single *genre* within one of the longer periods into which the whole subject naturally falls, but occasionally a period, such as "The Eighteenth Century" or "The Generation of 1898," is treated as a whole. In view of the scarcity of information concerning recent writers, the latter chapter is particularly welcome. More than the usual attention is paid to general movements. Little material of a biographical nature is included, and anything approaching a complete list of works is given only for a few of the greatest writers. Usually an author is characterized in a few words, often in a decidedly happy manner, and only those of his works are discussed that have in them something of lasting value. Rather than a chronicle of facts, the book is an evaluation of the literary output of Spain. It is perhaps hazardous to go so far in substituting generalizations and critical opinion for concrete facts, but the author has saved himself from the dangers of this method by adequate preparation and sound critical judgment. The bibliographies, in keeping with the text, include only significant contributions. The book is well printed, but is not wholly free from slips and misprints.

University of Iowa R. E. H.

ERRATA

"Aster" and "Starr." By J. P. Postgate. (V, 184.)
Line 8, *for* Aramanth *read* Amaranth
Line 10, *for* comprehend this. I *read* comprehend this, I
Lines 10, 11, *for* Stellor *read* Stella
Line 16, *for* p. 659 *read* pp. 4-5
At the bottom of the page, after "He now doth lie," there should be another line: "Sleeping in Dust."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

PHILOLOGICAL QUARTERLY

VOLUME V OCTOBER, 1926 NUMBER 4

MAKESHIFTS FOR THE PASSIVE OF DEPONENT VERBS IN LATIN

By EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY
University of Michigan

In Allen and Greenough's *New Latin Grammar*, section 191, the following statement is made: "Deponents are really passive (or middle) verbs whose active has disappeared. There is hardly one that does not show signs of having been used in the active at some period of the language."[1] A number of verbs which in Augustan Latin wear an air of having been deponent from birth are found to have active forms in Old Latin. This may be illustrated by a few forms selected at random from Plautus, e.g.: *arbitro* (*Stich.* 144); *proficisco* (*Mil.* 1329); *ludifico* (*Amph.* 585); *aucupo* (*Men.* 570); *venero* (*Truc.* 476); *opino* (*ap.* Non. I. 761 35-36).[2]

It was obviously difficult for cultured Romans, and impossible for others, to draw hard and fast lines of demarcation between active and deponent verbs and to be entirely consistent in their use.[3] It was well-nigh impossible for one generation to impose all its decisions upon the next even in Rome itself. Cicero, Caesar and other Augustan writers could not have dominated the usage of their contemporaries as they do ours when we essay to write Latin. In antiquity there was doubtless a smaller percentage of persons trying to govern their speech by set rules of grammar than there is today in civilized countries. Analogy, an unconscious psychological force, was always tending to restore to maimed verbs what the linguistic dictators took away.

[1] Essentially the same statement is made in the old grammar, section 135. Cf. O. Riemann, *Syntaxe Latine*[6], p. 205: Dans le latin archaïque, il existait, à côté de la plupart des verbes déponents, des formes actives, ayant en général le même sens que les formes déponentes et qui disparurent dans la suite ou se conservèrent dans la langue vulgaire.

[2] Lindsay's edition.

[3] The idea of consistency in connection with deponent verbs may never have occurred to a Roman.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Aulus Gellius (*Noct. Att.* 15.13) has an entire chapter which he calls *De verbis inopinatis quae utroqueversum dicuntur et a grammaticis communia vocantur.* Priscian[4] too devotes a number of pages to passive uses of deponents and employs equivalent Greek passives to make his point clear.

The refinements that were introduced between active and deponent verbs and between active and deponent forms of the same verb doubtless passed completely over the heads of the masses. In some cases attempts of the less skilful to make distinctions seem to have led only to confusion. Thus we find that in writers such as Apuleius, Petronius, and Fronto active verbs are made deponent and deponent verbs are supplied with active forms and used also in passive senses.[5]

A long list of deponents for Latin literature in general is given in Neue-Wagner, *Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache* III[3], pp. 18-108.[6] Since this list, which seems exhaustive, provides many illustrations of the passive use of deponent verbs, I shall not take space for quotation. I believe that in the poets, especially, the tendency to use the deponent as a passive was accentuated by the fact that the middle and passive voices of the Greek have the same form in several tenses.

PARTICIPIAL USAGE OF DEPONENT VERBS

As regards participles deponents caused comparatively little trouble. Since deponents have active participles in the present and the future tenses and since the Latin has no present passive participle, they created in these tenses no difficulty not inherent in active verbs also. They had likewise the future passive participle, which was combined with the verb *esse* to make the second periphrastic forms for both active and deponent verbs.[7] The Romans were an imperious as well as an imperial race, and hence this extra conjugation afforded them the means of expressing many ideas in the passive.[8]

---

[4] Keil, *Grammatici Latini* 2.379-388.

[5] See Butler and Owen, *Apulei Apologia*, p. 208; Waters, *Petronius*, p. xxxvi; Wilhelm Heraeus, *Die Sprache des Petronius und die Glossen*, pp. 38-39; M. D. Brock, *Studies in Fronto and His Age*, pp. 194-195; Riemann, *Syntaxe Latine*[6], pp. 205-207; Hermann Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata: Das Sprachidiom der urchristlichen Itala und der Katholischen Vulgata*, pp. 297-304.

[6] See also Gildersleeve-Lodge, *Latin Grammar*, sections 163-167.

[7] Even impersonal deponent forms are used with marvelous flexibility of construction, e.g., *via quam nobis quoque ingrediundum est* (Cic., *Cato*, 2.6).

[8] In the following sentence from Cicero, *Cato* 20.74, *Sed hoc meditatum ab*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Perfect participles of common deponent verbs were used in the passive with such freedom and frequency by writers of different periods that I believe the Romans but seldom went out of their way to avoid employing them.[9] This is undoubtedly true of the poets. A casual thumbing of Wetmore's *Index Verborum Vergilianus* reveals passive uses of *comitatus, dignatus, emensus, exorsus, oblitus, partitus, remensus, veneratus.* Livy too uses such participles freely.[10]

Zumpt, *A Grammar of the Latin Language* (1855), section 632, gives the following list of deponent perfect participles with passive uses "attested by the authority of correct writers": *adeptus, comitatus, commentatus, complexus, confessus, demensus* and *emensus, effatus, ementitus, emeritus, expertus* (especially *inexpertus*), *exsecratus, interpretatus, meditatus, metatus, moderatus, opinatus, pactus, partitus, perfunctus, periclitatus, populatus, depopulatus, stipulatus, testatus,* and its compounds *contestatus* and *detestatus.*[11] The importance of such a list must not be exaggerated. In antiquity it would have been subject to constant revision and could not have maintained its validity for more than a few decades at most.

Since the Latin lacked the perfect active participle and since the deponent verbs supplied perfect participles that were active in meaning, many of which could be used in the passive also, it is clear that, as far as participles were concerned, the Latin benefited from the presence of deponent verbs in the language.

Doubtless analogy worked most efficiently in making deponents passive when they were used in connection with the passive of

---

adulescentia debet esse, mortem ut neglegamus, the words *meditatum debet esse* are an alternative for *meditandum est.* I suspect that the passive use of *meditor* is almost unnoticeable because of the practical equivalence of the three words, *meditatum debet esse,* to the second periphrastic. It may be a kind of subconscious attraction. There are of course other illustrations of the passive use of *meditor.*

[9] I quote but a few random examples: *periclitatis moribus amicorum* (Cic., *Lael.* 17.63); *ex duobus opinatis bonis* (Cic., *Tusc.* 4.6.11); *depopulatis agris* (Caes., *B.G.* 1.11.4); *adepta libertate* (Sall., *Cat.* 7); *inexpertae commisit semina terrae* (Tib. 1.7.31); *oblita matre* (Tib. 1.1.32); *nancta libertate* (Apul., *Met.* 7.15). *Comitatus,* 'accompanied,' used as a poetic *cum,* is common in Vergil, Ovid and other writers.

[10] E.g., *per omnia expertus* (1.34.12); *utraque re satis experta* (2.29.1); *inter se onere partito* (5.40.8); *late depopulato agro* (9.36.13); *transgresso Appennino* (10.27.1).

[11] For a less aristocratic list of such participles see G. W. Gossrau, *Lateinische Sprachlehre* (1869), pp. 182-183, and Draeger, *Historische Syntax der Lateinischen Sprache* (1874), I, 134-136.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

active verbs. In Cicero, *Cato* 17.59, there occurs an instance of such a thing: *a quo illa dimensa atque descripta.* In the next sentence, however, we find the deponent used in its normal active sense: *Atqui ego ista sum omnia dimensus.* Even in the same sentence a deponent may be both active and passive, e.g.: *senectus quam ut adipiscantur omnes optant, eandem accusant adeptam* (Cic., *Cato* 2.4).

The following examples illustrate the freedom with which attraction occurred in both the infinitive and the finite forms of the verb: *flores diduci et partiri oportebit* (Colum. 12.7.4);[12] *debes putare . . . eblandita (esse) illa, non enucleata suffragia* (Cic., *Pro Planc.*, 4.10);[13] *ubi magis quam inter aras et delubras conducuntur stupra, tractantur lenocinia, adulteria meditantur?* (Min. Fel., *Oct.* 25.11);[14] *finitumst retroque pari ratione remensumst* (Lucr. 2.516).[15]

There are many examples of the perfect participles of deponent verbs used in a passive sense and coördinated with the passives of active verbs. Livy is fond of this construction, e.g.: *partitis*

---

[12] Other examples in the present infinitive are: *quorum improbitatem aliquando retundi et non pati importunitate augeri, non solum utile est rei publicae nostrae, sed etiam necessarium* (Cic., *Ad Fam.* 12.14.3); *Tutius visum est defendi inermes Latinos quam pati retractare arma* (Livy 2.30.9); *omnia quae defendi repetique et ulcisci fas sit* (Livy 5.49.3); *cum deo visum ordiri meliora, vetera finiri* (Sen., *Nat. Quaest.* 3.28.7); *Quanto satius est sanari iniuriam quam ulcisci?* (Sen., *De Ira* 3.27.1); *malunt metui quam vereri se ab suis* (Gell., 15.13.3); *hoc modo contacta loca nec intueri nec calcari debere fulgurales pronuntiant libri* (Amm. Marc. 23.5.13); *ut a superstitioso dicat timeri deos, a religioso autem tantum vereri ut parentes, non ut hostes timeri* (Aug., *De Civ. Dei* 6.9); *non oportere ius civile calumniari neque verba captari* (Paul., *Dig.* 10.4.19); *amitti quam apisci* (Fab. Max. *ap.* Prisc. 8.4.16.—Keil, *Gram. Lat.* 2.380).

Two or three of these illustrations may conceivably be translated otherwise, e.g., Livy 2:30.9: "It seemed safer for the unarmed Latins to be defended rather than to permit them to have their arms again."

[13] Cf. *nuper oblita, non tamen antehac prorsus ignorata dixisti* (Boeth., *Philos. Consol.* 4.1).

[14] Other examples in present finite forms are: *Maeretur, fletur, lamentatur diebus plusculis* (Apul., *Met.* 4.33); *diutius laborandum est ut factum credatur quam ut irascatur* (Fronto, Ad M. Caesarem 5.23(38), ed. Naber); *adiuvamur et adminiculamur* (Aug., *Doctr. Chr.* 1.3).

[15] Other examples of finite forms founded upon the perfect stem are: *commoniti et adminiculati sumus* (Gell. 14.2.1); *Quam stulte conficta, quam aperte sunt ementita,* ἐψευσμένα (quoted by Priscian 8.4.19.—Keil, *Gram. Lat.* 2.386); *vel utrimque (corpora) commixta sint sive amolita seu modificata* (Apul., *De Deo Socr.* 9); *multum interest, causa cognita, aliquid pronuntiatum sit an quaedam extrinsecus sunt elocuta* (Ulpian, *Dig.* 3.2.13.6); *adulatique erant ab amicis et adhortati* (Cassius, as quoted by Prisc. 8.4.15.—Keil, *Gram. Lat.* 2.380).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

divenditisque reliquiis praedae (21.21.2); *caesis fugatisque iis, late depopulato agro* (9.36.13); *praeda omni atque impedimentis relictis exercitu partito* (23.1.4); *non agris modo . . . populatis sed urbibus etiam quibusdam vicisque expugnatis* (29.35.4). Other instances are: *depopulata Gallia magnaque inlata calamitate* (Caes., *B.G.* 7.77.14); *venditis proscriptorum bonis aut dilargitis* (Sallust *ap.* Prisc. 8.5.25.—Keil, *Gram. Lat.* 2.392).

Illustrations of similar concinnity not in the ablative absolute are as follows: *meditatum*[16] *et cogitatum scelus* (Cic., *Phil.* 2.85); *imitata et efficta simulacra* (Cic. *Tim.* 3.8); *membra partita ac distributa* (Cic., *De Or.* 3.30.119); *quae meditata et praeparata inferuntur* (Cic., *De Off.* 1.27).[17]

It is obvious that in late Latin, when deponents were losing ground, the concinnity of normal passives and passives of deponents has less significance. For this reason most of my late examples have been relegated to the footnotes.

MAKESHIFT PASSIVES OF DEPONENTS

The most obvious way to compensate for the lack of the passive of a deponent verb is to employ a cognate noun or adjective with some other verb. The Romans did this with a remarkable variety of expression.

An interesting and illuminating group of passive uses is to be found in Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 3.424-426:

> Cunctaque miratur quibus est mirabilis ipse.
> Se cupit imprudens et qui probat, ipse probatur,
> Dumque petit, petitur, pariterque accendit et ardet.

---

[16] Several similar examples with *meditatum* may be found in Harpers' Latin Dictionary, s.v. *meditor*.

[17] Other examples are as follows: *sed etiam quibus ante exorsa et potius detexta prope retexantur* (Cic., *De Or.* 2.158); *vocabula . . . ab oratore modificata et infleza* (Cic., *De Part Orat.* 17); *et quae in loca publica inaedificata immolitave privata habebant, intra dies triginta demoliti sunt* (Livy, 39.44.4: cf. *C.I.L.*, I.206, No. 71); *postquam multo maiorem partem itineris emensam cernant, Pyrenaeum saltum . . . superatum* (Livy, 21.30.5); *quae omisi, non oblita mihi, seu praeterita existimet* (Aus., *Edyllia* 11); *Exercitum suum pransum paratum cohortatum eduxit foras* (Cato *ap.* Gell. 15.13.5); *sublati vel diminuti ve* (sic) *demorati cibi officia* (Tertull., *De Ieiun.* 2).

There are interesting uses of perfect participles of deponents, some of them worn down to pure adjectives, which are used in concinnity with ordinary adjectives: e.g., *iracundiam neque eam iniustam sed meritam ac debitam* (Cic., *De Or.*, 2.203); *multa sequitur probabilia, non comprehensa neque percepta neque assensa* (Cic., *Acad.* 2.100); *ementita et falsa plenaque erroris* (Cic., *N.D.* 2.56); *Mox aestu aucto in totum alia vox fit, nec modulata aut varia* (Plin., *Nat. Hist.* 10.85).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

In these three lines we see three types of passives: (1) the normal type, in *probatur* and *petitur;* (2) an active verb, *ardet,* with the sense of *accenditur;* and (3) the periphrasis *est mirabilis.*[18] Doubtless Ovid prided himself upon the variety he introduced into these few lines.

Still other makeshifts for the passive of *mirari* are *esse admirationi* and *esse in admiratione,* e.g.: *ita ut magnae fuerint admirationi qui perire quam servire maluerint* (Aug., *De Civ. Dei* 18.2); *vim . . . sermonis admirationi fuisse* (Tert., *Adv. Marc.* 4.7);[19] *In magna admiratione est Hercules Menestrati* (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36.32); *ante omnes in admiratione fuit Solis colossus Rhodi* (*ibid.* 34.41).[20] Further variation is seen in *ut cuique odium aut admiratio fuit* (Tac., *Hist.* 1.41), "as he was hated or admired by each one"; *admiratione afficiuntur* (Cic., *De Off.* 2.10.37). *Laudari* may serve as a passive of *mirari* and *admirari.*

Varro (*ap.* Non. 480.20) states that the ancients used the active forms of *mirari,* e.g., *Hospes quid miras animo curare Serapim?*

Perhaps the deponent character of no verb was more rigorously respected than in the case of *suspicor.* There were several methods of compensating for the lack of a passive. The first one that is met by students of Latin occurs in Caesar, *B.G.* 1.4.4: *neque abest suspicio . . . quin ipse sibi mortem consciverit* (i.e. "It is suspected that . . ."). Of course it was inevitable that in the search for alternative forms of expression additional touches would be imparted. A sentence with litotes, as in the illustration just quoted, must have a slightly different atmosphere from a plain positive statement.

The most common passive of *suspicari* is *venire in suspicionem,* e.g.: *etiamsi falso venisses in suspicionem P. Sestio* (Cic., *In Vatin.* 2); *qui . . . numquam in suspicionem avaritiae venerit* (Cic., *Ad Quint. Frat.* 1.1.14); *quum in suspicionem venissent suis civibus fanum expilasse Apollinis* (Cic., *In Verr.* 4.13.30).[21] More colorful variants are: *Leonidae cuiusdam Siculi familia in suspicionem est vocata coniurationis* (Cic., *In Verr.* 5.4.10);[22] *ut ne in suspi-*

[18] Cf. Horace, *Epist.* 1.6.23: *Hic tibi sit potius quam tu mirabilis illi,* where in prose *mirandus* would probably have been used.

[19] See also Apul., *De Plat.* 1.3; Seneca, *Epist.* 33.1.

[20] See also Pliny, *Nat Hist.* 35.145.

[21] Cicero uses the same construction in *Ad Fam.* 12.15.2; *De Invent.* 2. 32; *In Verr.* 5.7.15; *Pro Flacc.* 81; *Phil.* 1.15. See also Nepos, *Paus.* 4.1.

[22] See also Cicero, *Pro Cluent.* 65.182; *Pro C. Rabir. Perduellionis Reo.* 8.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

cione ponatur stupri (Plaut., *Amph.* 489); *Pausanias . . . in suspicionem cecidit Lacedaemoniorum* (Nepos, *Paus.* 2.6);[23] *mi incidit suspicio* (Ter., *And.* 359); *suspicio de me incidit* (Ter., *Adel.* 615); *ad quem suspicio maleficii pertineat*[24] (Cic., *Pro Rosc.* 7.18); *Audio praeterea non hanc suspicionem nunc primum in Capitonem conferri*[25] (Cic., *Pro Rosc.* 35.100).

There are several expressions that seem to be modelled upon *venire in suspicionem*: e.g., *si in vestrum complexum venero* (Cic., *Ad. Fam.* 14.1.3), "if I shall be embraced by you"; *in confessum venit* (Pliny, *Epist.* 10.81[85].8), "it is acknowledged"; *navigia in summum veniant vexata periclum*[26] (Lucr. 6.430), "the ships assailed are greatly endangered." With the last expression one may compare *salus sociorum summum in periculum ac discrimen vocatur* (Cic., *De Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 12).

Habere usum serves as a passive of *experiri*, e.g.: *quod (eum) magnum habere usum in re militari sciebat* (Caes., *B.C.* 2.34.4): "because he knew that he was widely experienced in military matters."[27] "To be experienced" in another sense is illustrated by Cicero (*Cato* 3.7): *Nam si id culpa senectutis accideret, eadem mihi usu veniret* (i.e. "would be experienced"); and by Apuleius (*Met.* 1.20): *Nam et mihi et tibi et cunctis hominibus multa usu venire mira,* "For many strange things are experienced by you and by me and by men in general."

Esse in crimine may serve as a passive of *criminari*, e.g.: *ut is eo crimine damnaretur, ne ipse esset in crimine* (Cic., *In Verr.* 4.45.100). Very similar is *in quos crimen intendebatur* (Livy 9.26.11).

Substitutes for passives of *obliviscor* are found in *cedere* or *excidere* with or without *de memoria* or with *ex animo* (*animis*) and in similar expressions, e.g.: *Carthaginem atque Hannibalem excidisse de memoria* (Livy 29.19.13); *excidit Achilles* (Seneca, *Tro.* 204); *excidat Hector* (*ibid.* 714); *exciderat pacis mentio ex omnium animis* (Livy 34.37.6); *necdum etiam causae irarum saevique dolores exciderant animo* (Verg., *Aen.* 1.25-26); *excidere haec*

[23] See also Cicero, *Phil.* 11.10.24.

[24] I.e., "who was suspected of wrongdoing."

[25] I.e., "I hear besides that this is not the first time that Capito has been suspected of this."

[26] A makeshift passive of *periclitari*.

[27] See also Caes., *B.G.* 1.39.2 and 5.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

credam pectore (Ovid, *Ex Pont.* 2.4.24); *memoria cedere* (Livy 2.33.9). In the following sentence from Livy 2.4.2, *memoria* is in the nominative case: *Praeterea aliquot nobiles adulescentes conscii adsumpti, quorum vetustate memoria abiit,* i.e., whose names have been forgotten as the years passed. A strong way of saying 'to be forgotten' is *oblivione obruere* (Cic., *Brut.* 15.60).

The phrase *habere venerationem* serves as a passive of *veneror,* e.g., *Habet venerationem iustam quidquid excellit* (Cic., *N.D.* 1.45), i.e. "Things of superior excellence are justly praised."

Esse frustra serves as a passive of *frustrari,* e.g.: *neque frustrabor ultra cives meos neque ipse frustra dictator ero* (Livy 2.31.9); *uti neque vos capiamini et illi frustra sint* (Sall., *Jug.* 85.6); *miser fies frustra expectando* (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* 14.1.36).

The deponent, the periphrasis for the passive, and the cognate adverb are used in an example of sustained punning by Ennius[28]:

> Nam qui lepide postulat alterum frustrari,
> Quem frustratur, frustra eum dicit frustra esse; nam qui
> Sese frustrari quem frustra sentit, qui frustratur,
> Is frustrast, (set) non ille est frustra.[29]

The same idea is expressed with less elaboration by Plautus (*Bacch.* 548), who, however, uses the active form of the verb: *Atque i se quom frustrant, frustrari alios stolidi existumant.*[30]

In the Argument of the *Mostellaria* of Plautus we find *ludosque rursum fit senex* serving as a passive of *senem . . . ludificatur Tranio.*[31] Another substitute for the passive of *ludificari* is *esse ludibrio alicui* as in *ne socrum inimicis ludibrio esse sinat* (Livy 1.41.2); *nec pati sceleratissimo hosti ludibrio esse imperium populi Romani* (Cic., *Ad Brut.* 1.2.2).[32] *Ludibrio haberi* is the passive of *ludibrio habere,* but it may serve equally well as a passive of *ludificari,* e.g.: *non sic ludibrio tuis factis habitus essem* (Ter.,

[28] As quoted by Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* 18.2.7. Vahlen's edition, 1903, p. 210, arranges the lines a little differently.

[29] "For he who blandly essays to take in another, mistakenly says that he whom he is trying to take in is (actually) taken in; for whoever mistakenly feels that he is taking in anyone (*quem*), such a man who thinks he is taking in somebody is himself taken in, (but) the other fellow is not taken in." There is of course no profound wisdom in this extended pun.

[30] I used Lindsay's text for this reading.

[31] Cf. *me . . . ludos bis factum* (Plaut., *Bacch.* 1090).

[32] Cf. *ne in ora hominum pro ludibrio abiret* (Livy 2.36.3).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Hec. 526),[33] i.e. "I would not have been made sport of because of your acts."[34]

It would seem that *implorari* should be a satisfactory passive for *precari,* but in Catullus (68.64-65) we find an illustration of poetic fulness of expression, *prece implorari*:

> Serius adspirans aura secunda venit
> Iam prece Pollicis, iam Castoris implorata.

In some connections *habere moram* seems to be a capable substitute for the passive of *morari,* e.g.: *Habui pollulum morae dum promissa militibus persolvo: nunc iam sum expeditus* (Cic., *Ad Fam.* 12.12.2), "I was delayed a little while carrying out my promises to the soldiers: now I am free;" *Non puto tam expeditum Faberianum negotium futurum . . . ut non habeat aliquid morae* (Cic., *Ad Att.* 13.31.1), "I do not think that the business with Faberius will be so hastened that it shall not be somewhat delayed." In commenting on Velleius Paterculus (2.51.2), *fortuna C. Caesar usus nihil in mora habuit quominus . . . perveniret,* Forcellini says: "*h.e. nulla re impeditus retardatusque est.*" In the first sentence just quoted *habui pollulum morae* seems to be strongly contrasted with the passive idea *nunc iam sum expeditus,* so that it should be translated "I was delayed a little" rather than "I delayed a little." In the second sentence the clause *ut non habeat aliquid morae* seems likewise to be contrasted with a passive idea, that in *expeditum.*

The intransitive or middle use of *morari* seems to be represented by the periphrases in the following examples: *ut si longior in cubiculo mora (esset) exitus negaretur* (Pliny, *Epist.* 6.16.14), "so that if he should delay longer in his chamber, escape would be rendered impossible"; *dixisti paulum tibi esse etiam nunc morae quod ego viverem* (Cic., *In Cat.* 1.9), "you said that you were delaying a little even now because I was (still) living."

It is clear that there were many ways in which a noun or adjective cognate with a deponent verb might be combined with another verb to form a makeshift passive. In addition to this device passives of active verbs of related meaning might be used to supply the missing passives of deponents. *Laudari* serves as a passive for

[33] Cf. *eam ludibrio haberi* (Ter., *Hec.* 150), "that she should be ill-treated." See Ramsay's edition of the *Mostellaria,* p. 277.

[34] The active form, *ludificare,* occurs in Plaut., *Most.* 832 and 1151, and in Buecheler, *Carmina Latina Epigraphica,* No. 1498.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

admirari, agitari for *persequi, temptari* for *adoriri, ferri* for *pati, haberi* or other verbs for *arbitrari, impediri* or *retardari* for *morari, impetrari* for *consequi*[35] and so on.

I believe that it is an erroneous idea that the Romans were greatly embarrassed by deponent verbs. One seems almost warranted in concluding from the large number of passive uses of deponents in the Neue-Wagner list, already referred to, that in emergencies the Romans felt no compunction about using deponents in a passive sense. I regard as a distinct gain the avoidance of the absolutely flat and colorless passive. Just as the poetic necessity for a rhyme often leads to a happy figure, so the need for a substitute form for a passive occasionally resulted in a periphrasis that was both expressive and picturesque and perhaps contained an additional shade of meaning. One must not, however, attribute this gain entirely to the lack of passives of deponents, since there are periphrases for verbs that do have passive forms.

The use of one verb as a passive for another was a common trick of style with the Romans. Ovid (*Met.* 3.426) uses *ardet* as a passive of *accendit*. *Pereo* may serve as a passive of *perdo* or of *caedo*. In Vergil (*Aen.* 2.426, 428), *cadit et Ripheus . . ., pereunt Hypanisque Dymasque,* we see two words acting as passives.[36] *Coroebus Penelei dextra . . . procumbit* in the lines immediately preceding seems to be a similar use. Still another example in Vergil is *caedebant pariter pariterque ruebant* (*Aen.* 10.756). *Cado* is also euphemistic for the passive of *caedo,* as in *pauci de nostris cadunt* (Caes., *B.G.* 1.15). An interesting alternative for a passive is seen in *Odi odioque sum Romanis* (Livy 35.19.6).[37] It will be recalled that *fio* is the regular passive for *facio* and that *veneo* does similar duty for *vendo*. Such uses are, however, aside from my subject.

This paper makes no claim to being exhaustive. It is intended merely to illustrate the way the Romans solved a difficulty. They mastered the problem so successfully that it seems to have imposed no hardship upon them.

---

[35] In commenting on a sentence of Varro's, *Vestales incesti conpertae ansa petuntur incognita, consecuta negleguntur,* Priscian (8.4.18) says: *'consecuta' pro 'impetrata' passive ait.*

[36] Cf. *victoresque cadunt Danai* (Verg., *Aen.* 2.368) and *caeduntur vigiles* (*ibid.,* 2.266).

[37] See also Cic., *Ad Att.* 2.21.1.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

THE HUNGRY KNAVE IN THE BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER PLAYS

By Baldwin Maxwell
University of Iowa

Though there is prefixed to the first folio of Shakspere a list of "The Names of the Principall Actors in All these Playes," little success has been made in identifying the various actors with particular parts. But that Shakspere frequently, if not regularly, had certain of his fellow actors in mind when he described his characters is suggested by the contrast which runs through so many of his plays of the tall blonde (Silvia, Helena, Rosalind) with her shorter fellow (Julia, Hermia, Celia) and perhaps by his making Hamlet "fat and scant of breath."[1] I believe there is no evidence that any of Shakspere's predecessors were accustomed to keep in mind as they wrote the physical characteristics of their actors and the advantages or limitations which these characteristics offered or made necessary.[2] But at least this secret of Shakspere's success the Jacobean dramatists recognized and adopted.

The plays of Fletcher and his collaborators are larded with descriptions of the physical peculiarities of the characters which are clearly suggested by the peculiarities of the actors for whom the parts were designed. It is easy to recognize certain parts written for "the tall fat fellow," John Lowen, and, with almost equal certainty, others designed for Joseph Taylor, "Of middle stature, and a brown complexion."[3]

In this paper I shall try to identify the actor for whom perhaps

[1] See, however, Professor Tilley's suggestion, which is not without probability, that *fat* here means perspiration. *Journal of English and Germanic Philology, XXIV* (1925), 315-24.

[2] We need not even except plays written to be acted by companies of children, for though there are constant jests on the boys' diminutive stature, they apply to boys in general rather than to individual boys.

[3] The dramatists clearly had Lowen in mind when they designed the parts of Aubrey (*The Bloody Brother*), Belleur (*The Wild-Goose Chase*), Leon (*Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*), and probably Soldier (*Nice Valour*); and they probably recognized that Taylor would take the parts of Pedro (*The Pilgrim*), Albert (*The Sea Voyage*), and Thomas (*Monsieur Thomas*).

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

was designed one of the most frequently reappearing types in the Beaumont and Fletcher plays—the hungry merry knave or the comic image of famine. The frequent repetition of the same types of characters by the Jacobean dramatists was due certainly not wholly to the rapidity with which the dramatists wrote and the popularity of those types, but in a large measure to the suitability of a certain type of character to a particular actor. This suitability of the actor is, of course, especially important where physical qualifications are demanded, as in parts where much of the comedy depends upon the actor's extreme thinness.

In *Bonduca* the merry hungry knave Corporal Judas is repeatedly likened unto Famine;[4] Geta in *The Prophtess* is told by the Second Lictor,

> Your worship is a man of a spare body,
> And prone to anger (III, ii).

Mallfort, the foolish steward in *The Lover's Progress*, thus describes his wasted body:

> Last Lent, my Lady call'd me her Poor John,
> But now I am grown a walking Skeleton,
> You may see through, and through me (I, i);

and similarly Lazarillo in *Love's Cure* complains that

> they tell me in *Sevil* here, I look like an Eel, with a mans head: and your neighbor the Smith here hard by, would have borrowed me th' other day, to have fish'd with me, because he had lost his Angle-rod (II, i).

In this last play, to be sure, there are two thin men; though Lazarillo's thinness is made much the more ridiculous, Bobadilla refers himself to his "slender hanches" (I, ii), and Clara rails upon him as

> *Signior Spindle* . . .
> You Dog-skin-fac'd rogue, pilcher, you poor *John* . . .
> Now, thou lean, dry'd, and ominous visag'd knave (II, ii).

In *The Queen of Corinth* there are said to be three pictures of lean famine—Onus, his Uncle, and his Tutor, though Onus obviously represents the most exaggerated picture. Speaking of the first to the two latter, Eraton observes:

> He's exceeding meagre.
> *Tut*[*or*]. His contemplation—

[4] Several times in II, iii, and IV, ii. Cf. V, i, where Hengest calls him "The lean rogue."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Unc[le]. Besides 'tis fit
Learners should be kept hungry.
Nea[nthes]. You all contemplate;
For three such wretched pictures of lean famine
I never saw together (I, iii).

And the Page rails upon them in language which suggests that one of them (the Uncle?) was tall as well as thin:

Ye Crow-pick'd heads, which your thin shoulders bear
As does the Poles on Corinth Bridge the Traitors: . . .
His Page is able to swindge three such whelpes:
Uncle, why stand ye off: long-man advance (IV, i).

These three parts have nothing to do with the plot and are so small as to suggest that they were inserted for no other reason than the fun to be got out of the ridiculous thinness of Onus.

Finally in *Women Pleas'd* Penurio, who is addressed as "Lean-gut" (III, ii), replies to the question "what wind blew you?"

Faith 'tis true,
Any strong wind will blow me like a Feather,
I am all Air, nothing of earth within me,
Nor have not had this month, but that good Dinner
Your Worship gave me yesterday, that staies by me,
And gives me ballast, else the Sun would draw me (II, iv).

For several reasons it seems to me quite likely that all of these parts for the extremely thin comedian were designed for one particular actor, that Fletcher and his collaborators were capitalizing the physical pecularities of an actor just as today we see the moving pictures capitalizing fatness, thinness, crossed eyes, and the like. First, it is to be noted that in their first presentation of the hungry knave, Lazarillo in *The Woman Hater*, *c* 1606, he is not referred to as thin; indeed his being always attended by a small page suggests that Lazarillo, in size at least, follows in the Falstaff tradition. The first of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays in which we have sport furnished by the leanness of the comedian is *Bonduca*, which, if the list of principal actors preceding the play in the folio is to be trusted, must have come between 1609 and 1611 or between 1613 and 1614.[5] There seems to be every reason to accept the later date.[6]

[5] Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, III, 228.

[6] Earlier critics had agreed in dating the play between 1615 and 1618. The other plays I have noted are dated as follows: *The Queen of Corinth* *c* 1617, *Women Pleas'd* 1619-1620, *Love's Cure* *c* 1621 (Chambers, III, 232), *The Prophetess* 1622, *The Lover's Progress* 1623.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Moreover, there is evidence which points to the King's Men having at just about this time acquired the services of an actor who later was to establish a reputation as a comedian and who was, as is shown by a part clearly written for him, remarkably thin.[7] I refer to John Shanke. Of Shanke's thinness and of my other reasons for identifying him with the parts noted, I shall speak later. First I wish to show that, though historians have dated his connection with the King's Men several years later, it is quite possible that Shanke was a member of that company before we find in the Beaumont and Fletcher plays any sport made of a comedian's thinness; e.g., by 1614.

Although Shanke had been on the stage for many years, he is first mentioned as a member of the King's Men when his name appears last in the patent of March 27, 1619. Collier, followed by his other biographers,[8] assumed, therefore, that he had only shortly before transferred from the Palsgrave's Company. His name appears for the last time among the Palsgrave's players in the patent of January 4, 1613, where it stands thirteenth in a list of fourteen.[9] He is not mentioned as a member of this company when on October 31, 1618, the company leased the Fortune from Edward Alleyn.[10] It would seem, therefore, that he left the Palsgrave's Company, presumably to join the King's Men, sometime between these two dates. However, that Shanke had not just recently joined the King's Men when his name appears in the patent of March 27, 1619, is certainly the natural conclusion to be drawn from his testimony in 1635 that he had "of his owne purse supplyed the companye for the service of his Majesty with boyes, as Thomas Pollard, John Thompson deceased (for whom he paid 40 li)," etc.[11] Thompson first appears in the list of principal actors preceding *The Laws of Candy*, variously dated 1619-1621, but Pollard ap-

[7] The "lean fool of the Bull" referred to in a ballad in *Turner's Dish of Stuff or a Gallimaufry* and identified by Fleay (*Stage*, p. 375) as "Thomas Greene, the Queen Anne's player at the Bull," has, of course, no connection whatsoever with the Beaumont and Fletcher plays.

[8] Fleay in his *Chron. Hist.* is characteristically contradictory, giving two dates for his joining the King's Company. On p. 269 he gives 1619, while on p. 375 he has "c 1616." Knight in *D. N. B.* says "presumably 1619."

[9] Murray, *English Dramatic Companies*, I, 211.

[10] *Ibid.*, I, 212.

[11] *Ibid.*, II, 152. It is hardly possible that Shanke's statement means only that he had maintained or boarded these boys. The natural interpretation is, I think, that he had paid the purchase price.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

pears in the list for *The Queen of Corinth,* which scholars have pretty well agreed in placing in 1617.[12] Unless this play has been dated several years too early or unless Shanke bore false testimony, it would seem that he was already an important business member of the company in 1617. His occupying a position of such responsibility at this time, moreover, would indicate that he had not even then only recently joined the company. Indeed it seems likely that Shanke had become affiliated with the King's Men within a comparatively short time after he is last recorded as a member of the Palsgrave's Company, 1613. It is, therefore, not impossible that he did take the part of Judas in *Bonduca,* that shortly after his company acquired the services of the "lean fool" Fletcher began to introduce parts for him.

It is true that his name does not appear among the eight listed as the principal actors in *Bonduca.* This absence, however, does not, I think, present any great difficulty. The part of Judas is hardly a principal part. Apparently Shanke was never regarded as a great actor, and though he became one of the two principal shareholders in both the Globe and Blackfriars, he seems never to have taken other than small parts. He is listed, as we have seen, in the patent of 1619, but his name does not appear among the actors in any play before 1622. Of the twenty-five plays for which the principal actors are named, nineteen of which come after 1619, in only two lists does he appear, and one of these, *The Wild Goose Chase,* is exceptional in listing twelve principal actors whereas all the others name eight of less. In *Bonduca* there are three comic parts, the love-sick Junius, the merry captain Petilius, and the hungry knave Judas. No two of these could have been taken by the same man. Of the eight actors named only two are known to have taken broad comic parts, Toolie, who acted one of the madmen in *The Duchess of Malfi,* and Robinson, who, as he is praised by Jonson in 1616 as a portrayer of women's parts, almost certainly took one of the female roles. Apparently Toolie was also still acting women's parts, for he took the part of Barnavelt's wife in 1619. Of the three women's parts and the tree comic parts there is again no opportunity for an actor's doubling. It seems indeed quite

[12] Boyle, thinking he recognized the hand of Beaumont, dated it earlier. Fleay dated it once 1618 and again *c* 1617. Oliphant and Macaulay (*Camb. Hist.*) agree on "probably 1617." Thorndike gives *c* 1617.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

probable that the part of the hungry knave was not considered important enough to warrant its portrayer's appearing among the principal actors. And the same is true of the other parts I have noted. In only *The Prophetess* does Shanke's name appear in the list of principal actors, but the part of Geta in that play is the only one of these comic roles which approaches importance.

In addition to the coincidence that Fletcher, having first presented the hungry comedian as a fat gourmand, substituted the starved image of famine at the very time at which Shanke may have joined the company, the little we know of Shanke emphasizes his physical fitness for such parts. In his *Historia Histrionica* (1699) Wright wrote that "Pollard and Robinson were comedians; so was Shanke, who used to act Sir Roger in *The Scornful Lady.*"[13] *The Scornful Lady,* however, having been written some years before 1613, the authors obviously could not have had Shanke in mind when they designed the part of Sir Roger, who, indeed, is not referred to as lean and of whose appearance the only hint is found in Abigal's speaking of him as "My little Levite"—perhaps an indication that the play was prepared for the Children of the Chapel, by whom it was performed.

The only other parts known to have been taken by Shanke are that of an undescribed servant in *The Wild-Goose Chase* and that of Hilario in Massinger's *The Picture,* before both of which plays twelve actors are listed rather than eight as customary in the Beaumont and Fletcher folio. Much of the comedy furnished by Hilario depends upon his extreme thinness. When Ubaldo and Ricardo first see him, the former exclaims, "What skeleton's this?" and Ricardo answers, "A ghost! or the image of famine!" And just before they enter, Hilario describes for us his wasting body:

> I look'd this morning in my glass, the river,
> And there appear'd a fish call'd a *poor John,*
> Cut with a *lenten* face, in my own likeness . . . .
> A surgeon passing by ask'd at what rate
> I would sell myself; I answer'd, For what use?
> To make, said he, *a living anatomy,*
> And set thee up in our hall, for thou art *transparent*
> *Without dissection*; and indeed he had reason
> For I am scour'd with this poor purget to *nothing* (III, i).

Compare with these the lines in *The Lover's Progress* in which the foolish steward Mallfort describes his body:

[13] Quoted by Chambers, *Op. cit.,* IV, 371.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Last *Lent*, my Lady call'd me her *Poor John*,
But now I am grown a *walking Skeleton*,
You may *see through, and through me.*
Leon. Indeed you are much faln away.
Mal. I am a kind of *nothing* (I, i).

I have italicized certain phrases to emphasize the similarity of the passages. It is perhaps worth noting that, with the exception of the first two, which are combined, the characteristics are repeated in exactly the same order. Both passages were, of course, written by Massinger, and I think there can be little doubt that they were written with the same actor in mind, that the later part was designed especially for Shanke because of his success in the earlier.

From these self-descriptions it is but a short step to those of Lazarillo (*Love's Cure*) and Penurio (*Women Pleas'd*) which I quoted earlier. All four are so similar as to suggest that they were intended to be spoken by the same comedian. The other lean characters which I have noted, though they do not indulge in such pathetic descriptions of their wasted bodies, furnish the same sort of broad comedy. As the lean comedian first appears in the Beaumont and Fletcher plays at a date which seems to agree with that at which Shanke must have joined the King's Men, I think it highly probable that all of these comic pictures of famine were designed especially to capitalize his ridiculous thinness.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

C AND *Z* IN AMERICAN SPANISH

By NORMAN L. WILLEY
University of Michigan

Throughout both provinces of Castile *c* before *e* or *i* and *z* in all positions[1] have the value of an interdental surd fricative, which, to avoid confusion, may be called *theta*. The *s* of the Castiles is given normally the value of a dorso-supra-alveolar surd fricative, differing decidedly from the *s* of English and sounding somewhat like *sh* (shine). Let us call this *s-castellana*.

In the rest of the Spanish-speaking world from Constantinople to the Philippines and from far up in the territory of the United States to the end of Tierra del Fuego *c* before *e* or *i* and *z* in all positions have the value of a surd dental fricative (*s*) and the *s* descended from Latin is indistinguishable from it. This sound may be denoted by *s-mejicana*.

A notable exception to the uniformity of these phonetic values is formed by a large part of Southern Spain, especially Andalusia, where *c* before *e* or *i*, *z* and *s* have, to be sure, identical value, but are all sometimes pronounced as *theta*, sometimes as *s-mejicana*, but never as *s-castellana*.

This distinction in pronunciation of three symbols, as it affects the speech of millions of people using an otherwise practically uniform phonetic system, has been much discussed and there are differing explanations advanced by scholars of repute. The most generally accepted theory is that the Andalusians started the vicious fashion of pronouncing the interdental *theta* as *s-mejicana* and that the objectionable mispronunciation was carried by them to the New World, where it prevailed over the original sound to such an extent that *theta* disappeared entirely. That there is also a difference between *s-mejicana* and *s-castellana* is neglected by this popular explanation of present conditions.

An opposing theory is that the Spanish Americans have retained

[1] I do not take into account here the sonant interdental or the sonant supra-alveolar fricative as found in *juzgar* and *desde* in rapid speech. They are a secondary phenomenon due to assimilation, whether we consider them as modern developments or as persistence of ancient values.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

the pronunciation of the ancient Castilians practically unchanged in the matter of *c* before *i* or *e* and *z*, and that *s-castellana* has developed to *s-mejicana* in the Spanish territory outside the Castiles.

Cuervo in *Apuntaciones Criticas*, §*780* (Paris edition of 1914), says that he conjectures that the Castilians, Andalusians, and primitive conquerors of America pronounced *ç* and *z* as the Americans of to-day pronounce them (*s-mejicana*), but that they had a distinct pronunciation of *s*, which latter fell into the same sound as the former (*s-mejicana*) within the limits of one generation or at most of two.

Lenz in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, B. 17, S. 189, doubts the Andalusian influence in American Spanish; he thinks that the conquerors came indiscriminately from all parts of Spain and that a dialectic levelling was the result.[2]

---

[2] We have a catalogue of the original conquerors of Mexico (Cf. *México a través de los siglos*, page 839) which is almost entirely contained in Bernal Díaz del Castillo's *Verdadera Historia*, chapters CCV and CCVI. Disregarding such possibly misleading information as the note: *Volvió*, or *Murió en Castilla*, this contemporary historian gives us eighty-five unmistakable statements as to the province of his companions. The following table shows the comparative numbers.

Castellanos	35
Andaluces	20
Extremeños	10
Portugueses y gallegos	10
Leoneses	5
Asturianos	2
Catalanes	2
Vasco	1

It is fair to assume that this is no exceptional case and that Lenz is entirely correct in his suggestion that the conquerors were from all parts of the Spanish Peninsula.

Such being the case, the probabilities that the common language would be Castilian are very great, since Gallego, Basque and Catalonian would have no other common means of communication. Moreover the Castilian was the language of the greater part of the old country; it was the official language of the court and government; it was much more respectable than any of its dialects; the most prominent of the conquerors, as well as the largest division of the rank and file were Castilians; and the vulgar representations of the values of native American dentals, as we shall see, was that given them by the educated, of whose correct Castilian we can have no doubt.

That Andalusian would not be the *lingua franca* is probable from the fact that it was a despised dialect and the conquerors were proud of their pure Castilian descent, calling themselves and their language always Castilians and Castilian, a usage that has prevailed as far as the language is concerned down to the present day.

Bernal Díaz tells us that the Aztec warriors, attacking the Spaniards on the disastrous retreat from Tenochtitlán, howled at them: *"Tenitoz Rey Castilla!*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Marden, *The Spanish Dialect of Mexico City*, 1896, says that the Spanish American conformity of pronunciation of *c*, (*e, i*), *z* and *s* "would argue strongly for the fact that the simple sibilant was the sound used in the literary speech of Spain at the time of the colonization of these territories."

Espinosa, *Studies in New Mexican Spanish*, 1909, §112, writes:

> The fact that in all the Spanish countries which began to be settled in the early part of the XVIth century, *c* (*e,i*), *z* became *s*, with no traces of other sounds, is positive proof that the people who settled these regions pronounced only *s*, and if they did so, it was not for them a recent change that took place suddenly on the eve of their departure. We are obliged, therefore, to place the date of this change in Spain in the last half of the XVth century.[3]

Obviously if we knew the sixteenth century Castilian pronunciation of *ç*, *z* and *s* we should be able to settle the question easily, but there are three distinct theories in regard to this, each supported by the name of one or more very respectable scholars. For brevity I shall call them the Ford theory, the Menéndez Pidal theory and the Marden theory.

The points of the Ford theory are stated succinctly by Professor Zauner in his *Altspanisches Elementarbuch*, § 7:

> *C* (auch *c* geschrieben) wurde *ts* gesprochen (wie das deutsche *z*); dafür sprechen nicht nur lautphysiologische Erwägungen, sondern auch sprachhistorische (Gundisalvu ergibt Gonçalvo) und Zeugnisse der Grammatiker, die es mit dem ital. *z* z.B. in *danza* vergleichen; diese Aussprache dauerte bis zum 17. Jh. Mit *z* wird es im Asp. nur selten verwechselt: wenn sich z.B. bozes (voces) mit conosçes (cognoscis) gebunden findet, so handelt es sich um keinen genauen Reim, sondern, wie oft im Asp., um Assonanz.
>
> *Z* wurde *dz* gesprochen (*d* + frz. *z*)[4].
>
> *S* wurde dorsosupraalveolar gesprochen.

Tenitoz axaca?'' (*Tlenquitoz Rey Caxtilla? Tlenquitoz axcan?*), What will the King of Castile say? What will he say now? Moreover in Nahuatl down to this day the words for *Spanish* and *Spaniard* are *caxtillan* and *caxtiltecatl*. *Wheat bread* is *caxtillan tlaxcal*, and a *rose* is *caxtillan xochitl*.

The Andalusian dialect of today is as conspicuous at least for the use of *theta* for *s-mejicana* as it is for that of *s-mejicana* for *theta*. The Sevillano says: *Ze me zube la zangre al ve' a eze zinvergüensa*. If Andalusian had put its stamp on American pronunciation, it would be fair to expect that some trace of *theta* would be found there, yet it is a sound unknown in American Spanish from Chicago to Patagonia.

Lastly, Andalusian influence can hardly explain the occurrence of *s-mejicana* in the Philippines, the West Indies, the Canaries, Asturias and Turkey.

[3] I quote without comment Terry's *Short Cut to Spanish*, N. Y., 1923: "The lisping sound of *th* or *z* before vowels, especially in the syllables *za, zo, zu*, is of Arabic proveniance. Carlos V, sometime (1516-1556) King of Spain, who is said to have had a hair [*sic*] lip and perforce to have lisped certain of the sibilant letters, perpetuated the Arabic lisp (*el ceceo*) and perhaps introduced the lisping of the *d*, as well as that of the *c* before the vowels *e* and *i*."

[4] Ford states that *z* became surd at the end of the sixteenth century.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Menéndez Pidal gives his conclusions in his *Manual de Gramática Histórica Española,* §35 bis 2. (Cf. also §37.2.c, and §42.3) (1918 edition):

> La lengua antigua distinguia también la pronunciación de la *ç* sorda y de la *z* sonora, cuya pronunciación podría ser la de θ y *z* : *plaça, hazer.*

The somewhat indefinite language of this paragraph is made definite by §35, *bis* 6, where he calls these sounds *fricatives,* and by his table of consonants on page 81, where he gives this θ and *z* as interdental fricatives surd and sonant respectively. *S* he believes to have had its present Castilian value.

The third theory, as we have seen, is supported by Lenz, Marden, and Espinosa. It is to the effect that, whatever the stages of development through which *ç* and *z* may have passed, the pronunciation thereof at the time of the colonization of America was dental surd fricative. The Castilian *s* was dorsosupraalveolar.

In support of the Ford theory there exists the painstaking and nearly exhaustive treatise of Cuervo in the *Revue Hispanique,* II, 1ff., considerably augmented by Ford's "Old Spanish Sibilants," *Harvard Studies and Notes,* VII, 1ff. Menéndez Pidal, so far as I know, has not given us the material from which he concludes so definitely that *ç* and *z* were interdental in the time of the *Poema de mio Cid.* Marden's theory is based on the uniformity of modern usage in America.

According to these three hypotheses, then, in the year 1500 Castilians pronounced the syllables *ça, ce, ci, ço, çu* on the one hand, and the syllables, *za, ze, zi, zo, zu* on the other with:

Dental affricate surd and Dental affricate sonant	According to Ford
Interdental fricative surd and Interdental fricative sonant	According to Menéndez Pidal
Dental fricative surd and Dental fricative surd	According to Marden

The data for determining the approximate pronunciation of Old Spanish may be gathered under five headings: (1) *Lautphysiologisches und Sprachhistorisches,* (2) Evidence of contemporary grammarians, (3) Transcriptions into different languages or alphabets, (4) Onomatopoetic vestiges, (5) Evidence of modern dialects.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Professor Ford has carefully tabulated the undisputed sources of Spanish ç and *z* as follows:

For ç: Latin initial *c* (before *e* or *i*)
Latin (Greek) initial *z*
Latin *c* (before *e* or *i*) after a consonant
Latin *ti* after a consonant
Latin *ci* after a consonant
Arabic *sīn* and *sad* not final and not at the end of one syllable before the initial consonant of the next syllable
Latin intervocalic *c* (before *e* or *i*), *ti*, *ci* in learned words
Latin *s* after *n*.

For *z*: Latin intervocalic *c* (before *e* or *i*)
Latin intervocalic *ti*
Latin (Greek) *z* not initial
Arabic *zāi*.

Of these sources the Arabic were all dental fricatives, and the Latin were simple dental fricatives or dental affricates in the vulgar language long before the rise of any distinct Spanish dialect. We know that Latin *c* before the front vowels became palatalized as early as the third century A.D. (Grandgent, *Introduction to Vulgar Latin*, §260). At the same time the dental *t* was palatalized before *i*, becoming nearly or quite the same sound as the one resulting from *c*. These sounds were confused to such an extent that the pronunciation was no longer a guide for the scribe, *nuntius* and *nuncius* were pronounced nearly or quite alike (*Ibid.*, §276). By the fourth century this resultant *ti* became *tsi* (*Ibid.*, §277). For example, the Latin words *coelum* (*celum*) and *gratia* became respectively *tielu* and *gratia*, then *tsielo* and *gradzia* (sonant) by the time of Constantine.

Sound changes are exceedingly slow processes and require generations, often centuries, for their completion. Each succeeding generation makes a slightly different adjustment of the organs of speech from that of its predecessor, owing to the influence of some general cause. In Castilian the change from Vulgar Latin palatal affricate to interdental fricative with the known intervening steps involves a progressive lowering and fronting of the point of the tongue. The general stages by which it could be realized may be supposed to be:

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

(1) Palatal stop + palatal fricative
(2) Dental stop + palatal fricative
(3) Dental stop + transitional homorganous fricative + palatal fricative
(4) Dental stop + dental fricative + palatal vowel
(5) Dental fricative + palatal vowel
(6) Postdental fricative + palatal vowel
(7) Interdental fricative + palatal vowel.

In stage (2) or (3) intervocalic surds became voiced, and in stage (5) in the greater part of the Spanish Peninsula the sonant fricatives became surd unless they were in the immediate vicinity of a sonant (*juzgar*). The change of (4) to (5) is according to the general phonetic law that when one of two homorganous consonants disappears the continuant always survives and the explosive disappears. Whenever in this advance a sound was reached which already occurred in other words (loan words from the Arabic with *sīn, sad,* or *zāi*; words containing Latin [Greek] *z*) this sound fell together with the already existing one and the two sets of words henceforth developed alike.

A parallel development is offered by intervocalic *t* (not before *e* or *i*). Latin *amatus* becomes Vulgar Latin *amatu,* Old Spanish *amado,* transitional stage *amado* (with postdental fricative), Modern Spanish *amado* (with interdental fricative). A similar lowering and fronting is shown in the passing of *s-castellana* to *s-mejicana* and finally to *theta* in Andalusian.

A comparable but wholly independent development is offered in the High German sound shift, in which stop consonants became affricates and eventually homorganous fricatives. In the series: OS *witan,* OHG *wizzen,* G *wissen,* apparently all that is needed to complete the sound shift of the Castilian is that the fashion of lisping be followed for a few generations to produce successively *withen* (postdental fricative) and *withen* (interdental fricative).

By the Ford theory in the lapse of twelve centures (312-1500) the progressive change had reached stage (4), and then in one hundred and twenty years, hardly more than the space of one long life, a great leap was made to the seventh and last stage. Moreover, stage (5) was entirely omitted, the dental affricate passed to an interdental fricative directly, a more rapid change and a more

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

radical one than that set down by Mr. Terry as a result of Charles V's "hair lip!"

By the Menéndez Pidal theory the entire series of gradual changes had been run off by the middle of the twelfth century (1140) except that a sonant *z* was distinguished from a surd *ç*, the very last step in the development being the loss of the sonant quality in *z*. This, we must admit, is not inherently impossible.

By the Marden theory the change had reached stage (5) by the fifteenth century and the sixth is now in process of realization in Andalusia.

In objection to the Ford theory it may be urged that Spanish has the most pronounced aversion to beginning a word with two consonants. Only *bl, br, cl, cr, dr, fl, fr, gl, gr, pl, pr, tr,* that is, a stop and a liquid, may begin a native Spanish word; no other consonantal combination may be initial. Every other combination beginning a word taken into Spanish was modified in some way (*psalmus, salmo*) or facilitated by the use of the prothetic *e*. This is true for all periods of Castilian. Indeed the prothetic *e* before *s* + consonant goes back to a beginning in the Vulgar Latin of the second century and is apparently completed everywhere by the seventh century (Grandgent, §230), thus antedating any Castilian language by centuries. This prothetic *e* is a physiological necessity, not a useless convention, and has been added to loan words of all periods, not from analogy, but because a Spaniard is really unable to pronounce such an initial combination as English *station* without a vocalic start.

It would seem exceedingly improbable that at a time when the Spanish vocal organs could not pronounce without a helping vowel such words as *sphaera* (*esfera*), *spatula* (*espalda*), *statio* (*estación*), *scala* (*escala*), *sbirro* (*esbirro*), *smaragdus* (*esmeralda*), *sgrima* (*esgrima*), they should nevertheless have experienced no difficulty in beginning a word with the combination *ts*. Certainly the Spaniards of the sixteenth century (when according to Professor Ford the dental affricates were in their prime) had difficulty in pronouncing Nahuatl initial *ts* and resorted to a simplification: *tzopilotl* became *zopilote, tzonpantli* became *zompancle, tzonpanco* became *Zumpango, tzapotl* became *zapote*. In intervocalic position the combination was not difficult, as is attested by Cortés' *Magiscatzin* and the common names like *Coatzacoalco, A(t)zcapotzalco.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

On physiological and historical grounds, then, the Ford theory seems to me less tenable than either of its rivals.

Let us turn now to the second kind of data for determining the sixteenth century pronunciation, the testimony of contemporary grammarians.

The various witnesses quoted by Cuervo and Ford in the matter of the pronunciation of *ç* and *z* give very conflicting evidence, and to prove from them that the sounds were affricates requires imagination. They range from Antonio de Nebrija (1444-1532) down to a period a century later and involve treatises in Spanish, Latin, Italian and English. They give us equivalents in other languages and sometimes crude descriptions of phonetic processes.

The most interesting one is probably that of the scholarly tutor of Isabel la Católica. He says of *ç*:

> Esta pronunciacion es propia de judios y moros de los cuales cuanto io pienso la recibio nuestra lengua; porque ni los griegos ni los latinos que bien pronuncian la sienten ni conocen por suia.

Of course Antonio de Nebrija pronounced Latin *s* and Greek *sigma* as the Castilian supraalveolar *s*; so there was for him no dental *s* in the classic languages. Moreover the Modern Greek pronunciation of *sigma* is, as a matter of fact, supraalveolar and probably exactly equalled the *s-castellana* at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and there is good reason to believe that the Latin *s* also was supraalveolar. Latin *c* before the front vowels and *t* before *i*, Antonio de Nebrija probably pronounced with the affricates *ch* and *ts*. Germans still pronounce *statio* and *Cicero* as *statsio* and *tsitsero* and the orthodox pronunciation of the Lord's prayer requires one to say: *Pater noster qui es in chelis.*

But in Arabic and Hebrew Antonio de Nebrija was not theorizing, he had abundant means of knowing the current pronunciation and in giving, as he does elsewhere, the Arabic *sad* and *sīn* and the Hebrew *samech* and *tsadhe* (which he considers the same sound as *samech*) as the equivalent of *ç* he clearly was indicating *ç* as a dental fricative, not an affricate.

Pedro de Alcalá (*Vocabulista*, 1505), noted for his Arabic lexicographical work, says that *ç* is the same sound as Arabic *sīn* and *sad*.

Juan Valdés (*Diálogo de la Lengua*, ca. 1540) says: ". . . *una* cerilla *que puesta debaxo de la* c *la haze sonar casi como* z."

Alfonso de Ulloa (1553) says:

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

. . . ma se alla detta lettera *c* vedereste questo punto disotto, ç, dirà, ça, ço, çu et nella Thoscana suonarà cosi, za, zo, zu, come dicendo in Hispagnuolo dança et in Thoscano danza—.

M. G. Mario Alessandri d'Urbino (1560) says:

Si pronuntia [Spanish *ç*] come la nostra z quando ha gagliardo spirito, onde la forza che ha la nostra *s* in queste voci . . . confidenza, cherzo, zuccaro . . . si possede dalla ç Castigliana in . . . çaragoça, caça, olvidança, et altri simili. La pronuntia che diamo alla *s* di poco suono et di leggiero spirito in azaria, zefiro, azimo, zodiaco, azurro, danno Castigliani alla sua *s* in hazer, azedia, azogue, azul et in tutte laltre voci loro c'habbiano la *s*.

The Italian grammarians possibly were more impressed by the fact that Spanish ç and *z* correspond to their own *z* etymologically than by the phonetic values of the symbols in popular use. They noted that there was a sonant value (*leggiero spirito*) and a surd value (*gagliardo spirito*) and gave little thought to the presence or absence of a lenis homorganous stop with which the spirants begin. Even in our own day men who write grammars of foreign languages sometimes ignore a slight distinction. I quote for example a sentence from the last edition of a popular Spanish grammar: "*S* has the sound of *s* in 'sister,' never that of *s* in 'please.'" A current textbook of professedly *Castilian* phonetics states: "(*s*), voiceless. A narrow passage for the breath without voice is formed by tongue and teeth. Similar to English (s)." Cf. Navarro Tomás, *Pronunciación española*, §§108-109, for the correct description of the supraalveolar.

The frequent comparison by the grammarians of the Italian *z* in *danza* and the Castilian ç in *dança* is far from conclusive evidence that they actually detected an affricate in the latter sound. Not all Italians pronounce *z* alike; in certain parts of the Italian territory no distinction is made between *z* and *s*, and it is only fair to presume that in the sixteenth century usage was no less diversified. Moreover, when the dental fricative immediately follows the dental nasal, the most careful observer would be unable to detect the presence or absence of any transitional *t*. The passing from *n* to *t* involves the silencing of the vocal cords, the closure of the nasal passage and the drawing back of the tongue from the teeth with a hardly perceptible explosion. The passing from *n* to *s* involves exactly the same things except that there is no explosion of any sort. But the velum cannot be managed with the speed of the tongue; to produce the explosion of *t* a perceptible pause is necessary, so that in ordinary conversation, even though the speaker be

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

conscious of the spelling *nts*, he has actually passed to the adjustment for the fricative before the velum has closed the nasal passage. If a Tuscan be asked to divide *danza* into syllables, he will of course pronounce *dan-tsa*, but in ordinary unconscious speech he will have no more *t* than is involved in the transition from *n* to *s*. Even the *t* of German in ordinary speech is indistinguishable in such words as *Mainz, Tanz, Kuntz*, and the words *Hans* and *tun's* have precisely the same sounds in their termination. Likewise Italian *danza* and *mansa* are a perfect consonantal rime in ordinary speech.[5]

Professor Ford also uses as corroborative evidence Greek transliterations of García and Mendoça, in which the combination *tau* + *zeta* is used for the Castilian *ç*. I cannot believe that this is proof of the affricate pronunciation. Modern Greek does not have the mediae *b, d, g*. In order to indicate these sounds in transliteration of foreign words the Greeks use *mu* + *pi* for *b*, *nu* + *tau* for *d* and *gamma* + *kappa* for *g*. This is a uniform process, in order to indicate a sonant corresponding to *pi*, *tau* and *kappa* the Greeks write before these letters the nearest related sonant that the language possesses. *Zeta* is a dental sonant fricative, and to indicate the corresponding surd for which the language has no character the transliterator may have placed before the sonant the corresponding dental surd and did not intend to indicate the pronunciation *Gartzía* but *Gartsía*. It should be added that in the present day *tau* + *zeta* is entirely sonant (*dz*) and *tau* + *sigma* is used for the transliteration of a foreign surd affricate.

Various other conflicting comparisons are also given: French *c* before front vowels, French *s* and *ss*, and English *ts* and *ths*.

The comparison with *ts* may be due only to a desire to indicate the surd character of the sound, as we find in the guide-book keys to the pronunciation of Welsh names. The Welsh surd *l* is a sound unknown to English in conscious speech, and to approximate the sound the rough-and-ready phonetician declares that it is equivalent to English *thl*. However, the tongue position is not that of an interdental or of a postdental; the Welsh *l* is only a lateral fricative. It is interesting to note that the Spanish missionaries meeting the same sound in Nahuatl indicated it by *tl*. Likewise a modern

[5] The popular Mexican word *cenzontle* (*centzontli*, *cen* = one, *tzontli* = head of hair = 400) is an illustration of the point. Only those who knew the Nahuatl derivation wrote *ts* or thought they heard a *t* in the pronunciation.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

scholar of note observing the lenis palatal explosive in such Spanish words as *hielo* and *hierba* has declared that the words are pronounced with an intial *d* sound, *dyelo, dyerba.* There is, however, no dental contact (Cf. Navarro Tomás, §121).

In the same section in which Professor Ford quotes the comparison of Spanish *dança* with Italian *danza* to prove the affricate nature of *ç* are mentioned the transliterations of German words by Avila y Çúñiga (1548), who accompanied Charles V. Probably this scholar had no greater training in phonetics than his contemporaries, and as he was in the service of an emperor who considered German a language fit only for conversation with a horse, we can hardly suppose he was sufficiently interested to bestow much care on his transliterations. The words are: (1) *lançuet* = *Landshut,* (2) *Çuibica* = *Zwickau,* (3) *Unçerfater* = *Unser Vater.*

The combination in (1) and (3) is the same as that previously discussed in Italian *danza,* the dental nasal + dental fricative. However, the division of the syllables and the voicing in the German originals are different, so that the careless listener would be still less likely to think he heard a surd dental stop between the German continuants than in the Italian word. In (1) the division in *lants-hut,* not *lan-tsut,* so that analytical pronunciation would not disclose the presence of a possible transitional *t,* while in (3) there is not and never has been a possible dental stop, certainly no German of the sixteenth century ever said *un-tser.*

In regard to (2) it is important to note the fact that the French and other Romance peoples who attempt to speak German are ordinarily unable to pronounce the initial German *z* and substitute the surd dental fricative for the affricate, e.g., Riccault's dialect in Lessing's Minna, IV, ii, has *swanzig* (*zwanzig*), *sugesetzt* (*zugesetzt*), *su* (*zu*), *funfsehn* (*funfzehn*), *sehn* (*zehn*). It is very probable also that Avila y Çúñiga meant to indicate the sound as he himself pronounced it, viz., *suibica,* not *tsuibica.*

The evidence of contemporary grammarians and phoneticians, then, seems to be overwhelmingly in favor of Marden and to give only slight support to Ford and none whatsoever to Menéndez Pidal.

Ingenuous transliterations from a foreign language are far more reliable to determine the real pronunciation of the Conquistadores than the utterances of grammarians *ex cathedra* on theoretically

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

correct Spanish. We have here the testimony of three very respectable witnesses: (1) Nahuatl, (2) Arabic, (3) Judaeo-Spanish.

During the conquest of Mexico many documents were written containing Nahuatl names. As there was no phonetic writing among the Nahuatlaca and no tradition of transliteration, the Spaniards were obliged to write Nahuatl sounds with Castilian characters, their ears being their only guides. Cortés' letters are especially valuable for our consideration, because he was a man of considerable education and spoke good Castilian. Bernal Díaz is also very important, because he is thoroughly independent, ingenuous to a degree, and follows no tradition, writing from his memory of events and not from collected documents.

On the heels of the conquerors came the missionary grammarians, the most educated and cultured men of their country, who reduced the native language to a phonetic system. They wrote, not for the vulgar, but for men of their own kind who wished to learn Nahuatl. They were careful scholars and were hampered by no tradition; they were concerned only with an accurate phonetic representation of the native language and did not care whether their systems agreed with the vulgar representations or not.

Cortés and Bernal Díaz, however, agree substantially with the grammarians in the phonetic symbols used for the Mexican sounds. Consequently we have unconflicting evidence of what the value of Castilian *ç* and *z* was at the beginning of the sixteenth century, since Nahuatl has been preserved in its pristine form.

Nahuatl possesses no interdental, but does have a surd dental fricative (*s-mejicana*). This native *s* is always denoted by the transliterators by *ç* and *z* and with no distinction between the symbols unless it be a conventional or capricious individual one. Not one of the grammarians has given us a single word of comment on any peculiarity of the native sound; they find it an exact equivalent of their own *ç* and *z*. They do tell us, however, that no Castilian *s* existed in Nahuatl and quite consistently *s* is never used by them in Nahuatl words.[6]

[6] Cortés and Bernal Díaz, however, do use *s* frequently in their transliterations, but always to represent the Nahuatl prepalatal surd fricative (*sh*) which the grammarians represent by *x*. As we shall see below from Arabic, the present value of *s-castellana* is unquestionably ancient. The few loan words in Nahuatl of early date show that the Indians heard their own prepalatal in *s-castellana*, e.g., *caxtiltecatl* (*castellano*). Cortés heard in Nahuatl *sh* an *s-castellana*.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Moreover the Nahuatl has as one of its most frequent sounds the dental surd affricate *ts*, the precise value that Cuervo, Ford, and Zauner suppose Castilian ç had and retained *"bis zum 17 Jh."* But the missionaries and the unscientific alike represented this aboriginal affricate, not by ç, but by the combinations *tz* or *tç*.

The grammarians were careful phoneticians for their time. They give us descriptions of the tongue position in pronouncing the Nahuatl *tl* and state that the sound must be heard from the lips of an Indian in order to be imitated. *Ts* is carefully explained to the student as an entirely unfamiliar sound to Castilian ears, and one grammarian tells us that the value of *x* is that of Hebrew *shin*.[7] If the ç, *z* sound had not been self-explanatory it is extremely probable that one of these learned and painstaking fathers would have said something about it.

The evidence of the Nahuatl is, then, that Castilian ç and *z* had in the sixteenth century the value of a dental surd fricative.

The two other sources of evidence as to the value of ç and *z* in Castilian, Arabic and Judeo-Spanish, are furnished by peoples who had long been resident in the Peninsula and were expelled slightly before the Spaniards took their language to America. If, then, we find the same state of affairs in these languages as in Nahuatl, we must conclude that the condition at the beginning of the sixteenth century must have existed for a considerable time before 1519, since loan words from Castilian in these tongues go back to centuries before, and a language does not change its loan words to keep pace with the phonetic development of the idiom from which they are derived (Cf. *Don Quijote—Don Quixote, Rocinante—Rosinante*).

Arabic is an especially fortunate tongue for our investigation, since it possesses true interdental fricatives, sonant and surd; a dental surd spirant lenis (*sīn*); a dental sonant spirant lenis (*zāi*); a dental surd spirant fortis (*sad*); and a dental sonant spirant fortis (*za*). In addition it has a prepalatal surd spirant (*shīn*).

Arabic does not have an exact equivalent of *s-castellana*. It seemed to the Arabs the same sound as their own *shīn* and is always represented by this letter in loan words of early date. In later words

[7] This explains why Cortés and Bernal Díaz used *s* in transliteration of Nahuatl *sh*, the Spanish *x* was probably a velar fricative already in popular speech or at least no longer a prepalatal fricative in the time of the conquest. Only the educated were aware of its ancient value of *sh*, hence the explanation by comparison with *shin*.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Castilian *s* is sometimes represented by *sad* or *sīn* (Andalusian influence. Cf. Augusti Fischer, *Zur Lautlehre des Marokkanischarabischen,* Leipzig, 1915.

Arabic does not possess a character to indicate the dental surd or sonant affricate that is demanded for Spanish ç and *z* by the Ford theory, but it does possess a *d* fortis and a *d* lenis, a *t* fortis and a *t* lenis, and, as we have seen, the corresponding array of fricatives, so that the imitation of a possible *ts* or *dz* of Castilian words would have been easy.

It may be objected that Arabic will not suffer a vowelless consonant to begin a word, consequently imitation of an affricate initially seems impossible. However, Arabic has two means of meeting this difficulty, beginning the word with *wasla* (*Aplaton* for *Plato*) or repeating the same vowel with each of the two consonants, as the Aljamiados wrote *palaze* for *plaze*. If, then, the Arabs had actually heard a double sound at the beginning of the words they borrowed from Castilian they would have indicated the fact at least occasionally. Moreover the affricate combination does occur freely in native words in medial position, e.g., *'atsum* (to sneeze).

The loan words in Spanish of Arabic origin are very numerous and of all dates from the time of Pelayo down to and after the capture of Granada. There was no literary tradition of transliteration of Arabic. The Arabs came upon Spain with the suddenness of an invasion of locusts and Castilians were writing Arabic words with Latin letters even before there was a Castile. Likewise the Arabs were writing Spanish words phonetically with Arabic letters from the year 711 down.

Apparently the Spanish ç and *z* did not sound to the invaders at all like *ts* and *dz,* and certainly not like *theta* or *delta,* since the Arabs always represented them by *shīn, sīn, sad,*[8] in the older stages, and in the later ones only by *sīn* and *sad* with *shīn* and *zāi* used sporadically, e.g., *Barcelona* is written with *shīn* and *Tarazona* with *sīn.*

[8] Fischer notes a few instances in which *gīm* is used to transliterate Spanish words containing *ç* or *s.* These cases are of some of the very oldest loan words in Arabic, and are no doubt in support of the affricate nature of the original. Cf. a similar substitution for an affricate in the representation of American Indian words by the early settlers, to which we owe the name Cherokee. The whites heard the word *tsaragī* and substituted *ch* for *ts.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Nothing gives the slightest indication that the Arabs heard an affricate in the Spanish ç and z after the very earliest time, and certainly they could not have heard Menéndez Pidal's interdentals, since their own *tha* and *dhal* are exact equivalents of the Castilian sounds of today, and no Spanish loan word in Arabic is written with either of these letters.

Conversely the Arabic sibilants, *sīn, sad, zāi* and *za* are transliterated by Castilian ç and z without distinction. *Aljaraz* (*sīn*), *algez* (*sad*), *alerce* (*zāi*).

The *s-castellana* was *shīn* for the Aljamiados, as it was the prepalatal fricative for the Mexicans of later times. Arabic loan words also represent it always by *shīn*, e.g., in the borrowed words from *agosto, fiesta, santero.*

Arabic *shïn,* however, was transliterated by the ancient Spaniards by *x,* which was also the character used by the missionaries in Mexico to represent the Nahuatl prepalatal fricatives, e.g., *axenuz, aximez, México.*

The Arabic *tha* and *dhal* should have been transliterated by the ancient Spaniards by the corresponding Castilian equivalents ç and z if Menéndez Pidal is right in his theory; but what actually took place was that they represented them by *t,* e.g., *alicatado* (*tha*), *tagarino* (*tha*).

The Jews who were domiciled in Spain from a period long antedating any distinct Spanish language, to say nothing of a Castilian kingdom, were distributed throughout the country, especially in the centres of population. They used the vernacular as a household language, but kept up the tradition of Hebrew. They wrote Spanish with Hebrew characters and naturally did it phonetically, just as the Yiddish write their German. They had no tradition of transliteration; hence if Castilian ç and z were affricates or interdentals we may fairly expect to find some evidence thereof in Judaeo-Spanish, especially as the Hebrew alphabet has a surd dental affricate in *tsadhe*[9] and both the interdentals (*thav* and *dhaleth*).

Hebrew is also equipped with a reasonable amount of dentals: a surd stop lenis (*tav*), a sonant dental stop lenis (*daleth*), a surd dental stop fortis (*teth*), a surd dental fricative lenis (*sin*), a sonant

[9] In spite of Antonio de Nebrija's statement that this character was the equivalent of *samech,* we have ancient testimony to its affricate value. It was used by the Jews for the Catalonian *ts*-sound and for the syllable *ti* in *justitia* (Hornung, *Latin C.,* p. 85).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

dental fricative lenis (*zayin*), and a third surd dental fricative (*samech*). It has also the prepalatal fricative *shīn*, but does not have an alveolar fricative (*s-castellana*).

Equipped with this array of phonetic symbols and given an intimate knowledge of the Castilian language on the part of the Jews, we should expect the Judaeo-Spanish to afford some evidence of the pronunciation of ancient Spanish, just as Yiddish does of ancient German. If *ç* and *z* were affricates or interdentals, we may confidently hope to find some proof of the fact here.

We find, however, that Spanish *ç* and *z* are in Judaeo-Spanish represented by *samech* (sporadically by *sīn* and *zayin*), never by *tsadhe* or by a combination of a dental stop and dental fricative, as Ford's theory would require, nor yet by an interdental fricative, as Menéndez Pidal's assumption would necessitate, e.g., *acercaban* is written *asircaban*.

As we might expect from a people who were well acquainted not only with the pronunciation of Castilian but also with writing in Latin letters, we find that the Spanish Jews distinguished the alveolar *s-castellana* from the prepalatal fricative and denoted the former by *samech* and the latter by *shīn*, e.g., *solo* has *samech, dexar* has *shīn*.

Thus the evidence from the Semitic sources agrees with that of the Nahuatl, that Castilian *ç* and *z* were dental fricatives, not affricates or interdentals.

As to the matter of onomatopoetic evidence we have a little material that has not been employed by Ford: *cecear, zumbar* and a few interjections.

Bernal Díaz, *Verdadera Historia*, cap. CCVI, says of Gonzalvo de Sandoval that he was "*natural de Medellín*" and that he "*ceceaba tanto cuanto.*" In the same place he says of Luis Marín that he was "*natural de Sanlúcar*" and "*ceceaba un poco como sevillano.*" When Bernal Díaz mentions a comrade's speaking like a Sevillano he does it in the same spirit in which he writes of Juan Velázquez de León that he was "*algo tartamudo,*" or of Diego de Ordaz that he "*no acertaba bien a pronunciar ciertas letras, sino algo tartajoso.*" The *cecear* was in Bernal Díaz' day a fault of pronunciation characteristic of the people of Seville, and foreign to proper Castilian.

But just what does he mean by *cecear*? At present the word

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

means to pronounce *s* (alveolar or dental) as an interdental, e.g., to say *zaber* in place of *saber*. It is today characteristic of the Andalusians. The *Diccionario de Autoridades* gives two meanings of *cecear*:

> CECEAR v.n. Pronunciar la S como C. Lat. *Lingua haesitare, Balbutire.* Ayal. Chron. del R. Don Pedro, año 4. cap. 7[10] Fué el Rey Don Pedro assaz grande de cuerpo, y blanco y rúbio, y *ceceaba* un poco.
>
> CECEAR sonar, cerrando los dientes, uniendo à ellos la léngua algo mas à los de arriba, como un silvo à lo sordo, que regularmente sirve de seña para llamar, detener, ô intimar silencio. Lat. *Compellare blanditer.* Cer. Nov. 10, pl. 311. Al passar por una calle, que tenía portáles, sustentados en mármoles, oyó, que de una puerta le ceceaban. Canc. Rom. que empieza: Aquel Labrador antiguo.
>
> Y vos, Señór, que asistis,
> como Sol à estrellas tantas,
> que los Capélos os buscan,
> y os cecéan las Tiaras.

It will be noted that *cecear* as given in the second acceptation is a good description of the dental fricative *s* and nothing else. It forms no closure and so is not the Ford affricate; it is the *silvo*, the familiar Spanish hiss which is everywhere used to this day to call attention. It cannot be Menéndez Pidal's interdental, for the teeth are closed. The word meant *to hiss*, and *to hiss* when speaking was to substitute the dental *s* for the supraalveolar one, not to substitute an affricate or an interdental.

When Cervantes says "*Como gitana hablaba ceceosa,*" and elsewhere uses *cecear* for the hiss to call attention, he must mean the same sound. Indeed when *cecear* came to mean "to pronounce with the interdental," it lost the meaning *hiss* and is no longer understood in this sense in Castile. *Cecear* now means *to lisp*, not *to hiss*. The graphic representation of the hiss is no longer *¡Ce! ¡ce!* Cf. Alvarez Quintero, *Las de Cain*, Act III:

> Marin. Sch . . . sch . . . ¡Doña Elvira!

Bernal Díaz pronounced ç as a dental sibilant, hence he can mean only that Gonzalvo de Sandoval and Luis Marín pronounced the Castilian supraalveolar as a dental.

But the meaning was the same at least a century and a half before Bernal Díaz. The old romance shows that the word was used for the hiss ages before, hence when King Pedro the First *ceceaba* in 1369, we must understand only that he did not raise his tongue to the supraalveolar position when he said *s*. *Cecear* in 1369 meant

[10] The reference is incorrect; the words occur in año 20, cap. 8, corresponding to the year 1369.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

both to hiss and to mispronounce the *s-castellana,* and if Pedro I said *tsotsegar* for *sosegar,* he also arrested his courtiers' attention by the wholly unsuitable exclamation: *¡Tse! ¡Tse!* (I hardly suppose anyone will believe he said *The, the*!") The Spanish hiss is a natural, instinctive sound; like the duck's quack and the ass's bray it does not change with the passing of generations.

Given the antiquity of the word *cecear* in the sense "to mispronounce *s-castellana,*" what are the physiological probabilities of its meaning the affricate pronunciation? We know that changes in pronunciation are brought about by a succession of slight differences of adjustment. The supraalveolar *s* is a pure fricative and it is mispronounced by the Andalusians of today as dental *s* and eventually as interdental *theta.* This points to a successive substitution of one fricative for another by a progressive lowering of the tongue. That the way from *s-castellana* to *theta* should have led through any stop consonant + a fricative seems as improbable as that the development of the Idg. *ō* to Germanic *ā* should have involved a transitional stage when the vowel was an aspirate *h.*

Zumbar is a rarely fortunate word to imitate the droning of a bee. It does duty for both *buzz* and *hum.* However it is not an onomatopoetic word at all if the first sound is either an affricate or an interdental; at no time have Spanish bees buzzed with a *dz,* with a *theta* or a voiced interdental fricative. The sonant dental fricative is the best possible imitation, and if Old Spanish had not possessed the sound it is extremely likely that the next choice would have been the sonant supraalveolar, not a letter that does not in the least resemble either a buzz or a hum. Cf. German *summen,* Dutch *soemen,* English *Z-z-z-z.*

Zuzo and *zape* (scat!), and *cito,* an ancient word for calling a dog, could hardly have been effective if they were not fricatives. *Zis zas* are imitative words to indicate a fall or a blow, about like *whish*! or *swish!* I hardly believe they would have been suggestive if they had been pronounced *dzis-dzas* or *this-thas.*

The onomatopoetic evidence, then seems quite on the side of the Marden theory.

The evidence of modern dialects is overwhelmingly in favor of the dental fricative pronunciation of *ç* and *z.* With the exception of Old and New Castile and the immediately adjoining territory,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

there is no other value given to these symbols throughout the Spanish world.

From numerous examples in history we know that the mother country always precedes its colonies in linguistic development. The Canadian French are speaking today practically the same language that their ancestors spoke and have retained its phonetic values. The uvular *r*, which is well-nigh universal in France today, is hardly known in Quebec. The German settlers in the United States who still keep up the tradition of their language are a century or two behind the Vaterland. The Mexicans, too, and the highlanders of South America use in conversation countless expressions that have become obsolete in the Spanish Peninsula, and the Icelanders in their isolation speak the most primitive form of Germanic in use. It is very reasonable to suppose that Castile has developed the interdental pronunciation and that the colonies have lagged behind the motherland in its phonetic evolution.

Of the three suggested values of Castilian *ç* and *z* at the beginning of the sixteenth century our available evidence then shows that the Ford theory rests on insufficient evidence, that the Menéndez Pidal theory is without evidence, that the Marden theory has all reasonable evidence.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

PETTIE'S PETTY PILFERING FROM POETS

By J. N. Douglas Bush
Harvard University

Euphuism has had perhaps more attention than it deserved, and on the general lines of its development not a great deal remains to be said. Few of late years have regarded Guevara or North as more than agents, even minor agents, in a general movement which, in varying conditions, had ebbed and flowed since the time of Gorgias.[1]

In this article I have no intention of venturing beyond the edge of that bog of euphuism where armies whole have sunk. Pettie's style, as displayed in the *Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure* (1576), is fully developed euphuism, except that the number of similes drawn from strange beasts is comparatively small, and Pettie's important historical position has long been recognized. What I wish to point out is that certain aspects of his euphuism owe something to his study of the verse of his age, in which some euphuistic qualities were common before they became a marked element of prose. The best discussion of the influence of poetry in the development of Elizabethan euphuism is that of Professor Child, for more recent writers have been inclined to neglect this side of the question.[2] Professor Child stated the case in more or less general terms; this paper can only supplement his remarks with some concrete evidence that Pettie pilfered from the poets, and, therefore, was quite certainly subject to their influence. In presenting the following parallels, I might say that a number of the commoner phrases are not given as proof of Pettie's having borrowed them from a particular poet, but simply to show that he was saturated with the poetic diction of the time. Thus many "parallels" between Pettie and Gascoigne occur in other poets, but

[1] One may quote a sentence from the latest editor of Guevara which suggests a rather astonishing disregard of chronology: "Now this concentration on North rather than on Berners as the chief source of Euphuism makes Landmann's task very hard, for it is possible to point to frequent examples of almost all the euphuistic qualities in Pettie, Paynter, Ascham and other writers long before 1557" (*The Diall of Princes*, selections edited by K. N. Colvile, London, 1919, p. xxxiii).

[2] C. G. Child, *John Lyly and Euphuism*, 1894, especially pp. 22, 50-51, 64-65, 70-71. See also Landmann, *Des Euphuismus*, pp. 36 ff.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Gascoigne may conveniently be regarded as a sort of repository of Elizabethan poetic diction—as he truly was.

Gascoigne (p. 45):[3]

Or as the seely byrd, that with the Bolte is *brusd,*
And *lieth aloofe among the leaves,* of al hir pheares refusd,
And *heares them sing* full shrill, yet cannot she rejoyce,
Nor frame *one warbling note* to passe, *out of hir mournfull voyce.*
Even so I find by proofe, that pleasure *dubleth payne,*
Unto a *wretched wounded hart,* which doth in woe, remaine.
I passe where pleasure is, I heare some sing for joye,
I see som laugh, som other daüce, in spight of darke anoy.
But out alas my mind, amends not by their myrth,
I deeme al pleasurs to be paine, that dwell above ye earth.

Pettie (I, 43): For as the bird that is *bruised* with some blow *lieth aloof on the leavcs,* and *hears his fellows sing,* and is not able to utter *one warbling note out of his mournful voice,* but rather hates the harmony which other birds do make, so I, my heart being bruised and broken, sit solitarily alone, and see some hang about their husband's neck, some closely clepe them in their arms . . . all which sight *redoubleth my pain* to think myself deprived of those pleasures: yea, to *a wretched wounded heart* that dwells in dole, every pleasant sight turns to bitter spite . . .

Gascoigne (p. 70): In everie gorgious garish glasse, . .

P. (I, 48): to gaze in every garish glass.

G. (p. 97-98): . . . the heeres were not of Gold . . .
Like glistring wiers against the Sunne that shine,
And therewithall the blazing of hir eyne . . .
Upon hir cheekes the Lillie and the Rose
Did entremeete, with equall change of hewe . . .
That ruddy lippe wherein was pleasure plast,
Those well shapt hands . . . .
I may no prayse unto a knife bequeath,
With rust yfret, though paynted be the sheath.

P. (II, 86): On her cheeks, the lily and the rose did strive for interchange of hue; her hair, comely curled, glistered like gold; her piercing eyes twinkled like stars . . . her ruddy lips were soft and sweet; her hands fine and white . . . But as a rusty rapier is no trusty rampier to defend a man, though the scabbard be of fine velvet, so a woman . . .

G. (p. 98): kits of *Cressides* kind.

P. (II, 113): kites of Cressid's kind.

G. (p. 99): When fansie had of flatterie fedde his fill.

P. (II, 91): when the king's fancy had been once fully fed.

G. (p. 107): The costlye tast, of hony mixt with gall:
The painted heaven, which turnde to hell at last.

P. (II, 114): O honey mixed with gall, O heaven turned to hell!

G. (p. 109): Or as the kindly Spaniell which hath sprong
The prety Partriche, for the Falcons flight,
Doth never spare but thrusts the thornes among,
To bring this byrd yet once againe to sight . . . .

P. (II, 35): Now as the good spaniel, having sprung the partridge, ceaseth not to range the fields and beat the bushes until he have retrieved it again to serve the hawk which flew at it.

G. (p. 110): Yet hauld I in, the mayne sheate of the minde,
And stayed thy course by ancors of advice.

P. (I, 121): Hauled in the main sheet of her mind, and by the anchors of advice so stayed her course.

[3] All references to Gascoigne are to Vol. I of Cunliffe's edition.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

G. (p. 111): Then farewell faith, thou art no womans pheare.
P. (II, 115): Then farewell faith, thou art no woman's fere.
G. (p. 114): And in my nightes I feele the secret fire,
Which close in embers, coucheth lyke a cole,
And in the daye hath bene but raked up,
With covering ashes of my company,
Now breakes it out, and boyles the careful cuppe,
Which in my heart doth hang full heavily.
P. (I, 148): For as coals of fire covered close with ashes keep their heat long time, but lying open soon wax cold and black, so the fiery flames of love raked up in silence, burn furiously within a man, but being by discourse disclosed, they soon convert from flame to fume and smoke.
G. (p. 147): But tne hawke which soareth in the skie,
And clymbes aloft for sollace of hir wing,
The greater gate she getteth up on highe,
The truer stoupe she makes at any thing.
P. (I, 29): For as a hawk the higher pitch she flieth from the ground with the more force she stoopeth down upon her prey and can the more easily command it.
G. (pp. 335-36): And as the hoded Hauke, which heares the
Partrich spring,
Who though she feele hir self fast tied,
yet beats her bating wing . . .
The Greyhound is agreev'd, although he see
his game,
If stil in slippe he must be stayde, when
he would chase the same.
P. (II, 41): Like as the greyhound is grieved to see the hare if he be kept in slip, and the hawk the partridge if she be tied in lunes.
G. (p. 399); The fairest Woulf will choose the foulest for hir make,
And why? because he doth indure most sorrow for hir sake.
P. (I, 19): The she-wolf who always chooseth that wolf for her make who is made most lean and foul by following her.
Tottel's Miscellany (p. 225):
Like as the birde within the cage enclosed,
The dore unsparred, her foe the hawke without,
Twixt death and prison piteously oppressed,
Whether for to chose standeth in doubt,
Lo, so do I, which seke to bryng about,
Which should be best by determinacion,
By losse of life libertie, or lyfe by pryson.
P. (I, 123-24): And as the bird enclosed in cage, the cage door being set open, and the hawk her enemy sitting without watching for her, between death and prison piteously oppressed standeth in doubt whether it be better still to remain in prison, or to go forth to be a prey for the hawk, so stand I in doubt whether it be better by losing life to get liberty, or by living to become thrall and bond, and live in continual torment and vexation of mind.
T. (p. 220): For all thynges hauing life sometime haue quiet rest.
The bering asse, the drawing oxe, and euery other beast . . . .
Saue I alas whom care of force doth so constraine
To waile the day and wake the night . . .
P. (I, 154): The horse now and then ceaseth from his travail, the ass from bearing, the ox from drawing, and so of all other creatures; but my poor heart is never at rest . . .
Golding's *Ovid*, (ed. W. H. D. Rouse, 1904, Preface, ll. 169 ff.):
Lyke as the fynest meates and drinkes that can bee made by art,
In sickly folkes too nourishment of sicknesse doo convert.
P. (I, 17): He freely fed his eyes on that meat which converted rather to

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

nourishment of sickness, than to wholesome humors of health. For as the finest meats that be, eaten by one in extremity of sickness, resolve not to pure blood to strengthen the body, but to waterish humors to feed the fever and disease.

Golding (ii., ll. 1033 ff.):

And as the freting Fistula forgrowne and past all cure

P. (II, 98): For as the freting fistula past all cure, runneth in the flesh from place to place, and maketh the sound flesh as rotton as the rest, so the deadly poison of love . . .

P. (II, 98): For as the freting fistula past all cure, runneth from place to place, and maketh the sound flesh as rotten as the rest, so the deadly poison of love . . .

Golding (viii. 614 ff.): And as a Boate which tide contrarie beares
Against the winde, feeles double force, and is compeld to yeelde
To both . . .

P. (I, 179): And as a boat borne by the tide against the wind, feeleth double force, and is compelled to yield both to wind and wave . . .

Golding (x. 420 ff.):

And like as when a myghtye tree with axes heawed rownd,
Now reedye with a strype or twaine to lye uppon the ground,
Uncerteine is which way to fall and tottreth every way:
Even so her mynd with dowtfull wound effeebled then did stray
Now heere now there uncerteinely, and tooke of both encreace.

P. (I, 119-20): And as a tree hewn round with axes ready to fall with a blow or twain, tottereth every way, being uncertain which way to fall, so his mind distracted with doubtful devices, wavered unconstantly . . .

Borrowings less certain than these are those of the panther which allures by its smell, and the bird trying to escape from the trap.[4] It is needless to record seven or eight phrases which Pettie, in his tales of Progne, Procris, and Pygmalion, takes over from Golding's renderings of these stories.

Pettie had read Mantuan, apparently in Turbervile's translation.[5]

Turbervile: A Woman to the Northeast winde
may well compared bee,
That *gathers up the cloud* and straight
doth force the same to flee
Abrode by guileful *puffe againe*
and bitter windie blast.
So she allures, and then she lowres
upon hir Loue at last.

P. (I, 119): And as the north-east wind first *gathereth up the clouds*, and then *by puffs* putteth them *abroad again*, so she first by lovely looks allured to bring him in, and then with frowning face *lowered* to drive him away . . .

The device of heaping up a series of proverbs or illustrations of one idea is one of the commonest practised by Elizabethan poets, as every weary reader can testify; it is also a favorite trick of Pettie's. One sample, chosen at random from many, will serve.

[4] Golding's *Ovid*, Epistle, ll.554 ff., and Pettie, I, 123; Golding, p. 220, ll.82 ff., and Pettie, I, 97.

[5] London, 1567. I have used a MS copy in the Harvard Library, Eclogue iv, p. 19. Pettie refers to Mantuan, II, 155.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Turbervile, *Tragical Tales*:[6]

> When steedes are stolne tys bootles doores to barre . . .
> Too late com salues to cure confirmed sores
> When loue is linkt and choyce is chayned fast . . .

P. (I, 175-76): For salves seldom help an overlong suffered sore; it is too late to shut the stable door when the steed is stolen . . . it is too late to dislodge love out of one's breast, when it hath infected every part of the body.

As for brief phrases, it would be tedious to give chapter and verse for such bits of poetic jargon as "careful cries," "comely corps," "rigorous repulse," "bathe in bale," "swim in silks," "chips of chance." These and many other well-worn tags are part of the very fabric of early Elizabethan verse, and of Pettie's prose.

Having regard to space, one must suggest rather than demonstrate the influence of verse on euphuistic prose, for demonstration would necessitate disgorging one's notes of endless parallels. Such influence is not claimed of course for more than a few of the recognized characteristics of euphuism, such as alliteration, antithesis, the use of similes drawn from natural history, the habit of piling up proverbs in groups. That these elements of euphuism appeared in prose before Pettie may be granted, but they are comparatively rare in prose, while every page of the verse of the time yields more or less horrible examples.

Concerning Churchyard, one of the most fluent practitioners of euphuistic verse, Mr. Courthope remarks: "In the abundance of proverbs and illustrations with which he colors his platitudes, we see the effects of *The Dial of Princes.*"[7] The *Diall* has been made the scapegoat for many things, perhaps because not even scholars are able to read the tome, but I do not find sufficient evidence to warrant 'Courthope's Charge'—as Churchyard would have said. There are such groups of proverbs and illustrations, exactly of Churchyard's (and Pettie's) kind, yet, except in the small section *Certaine Letters*, they are so infrequent that one cannot regard the *Diall* as a very important influence. Nor indeed do I see why the *Diall* was ever regarded as a powerful factor in the growth of English euphuism. "In spite of what some critics have said, the *Diall of Princes* is in style almost as unaffected as the *Plutarch.*"[8]

[6] Roxburghe Club, 1837, pp. 282-83. Professor H. E. Rollins showed that there must have been an edition of the *Tragical Tales* in 1574-75, before the known one of 1587 (*Mod. Phil.*, XV, 517).

[7] *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, II, 188.

[8] H. J. Savage, *Studies in English Prose Style 1459-1616* (Harvard Dissertation, 1915), p. 337.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

THE ROYAL BOAR AND THE ELLESMERE CHAUCER

By Edwin Ford Piper
University of Iowa

One phase of literary history has received insufficient attention —the adventures of manuscripts which have come down from before the days of printed books. Miscellaneous information concerning readers, book lovers, and book owners lies buried in the scribblings on end-leaves and margins—valuable data for the history of taste in literature.

The Ellesmere Chaucer is rich in such scribblings; a single article cannot consider them all. This paper discusses two problems relating to the history of that manuscript:

1. Probable ownership by the Drury family in the early part of the sixteenth century.
2. The significance of Rotheley's poem.[1]

Rotheley's work, now accessible only in Todd or in the Facsimile of the Ellesmere, is reproduced here in Todd's transcription.[2] Todd's notes detailing similarity of phrasing between Rotheley and the *Testament of Love* are for the most part omitted as irrelevant.[3] Todd separates the stanzas; Rotheley left no blank line. Todd prints the work as two poems; it is really one poem, and its lines are so numbered here.

---

[1] *Per Rotheley* is signed in the margin opposite the final stanza: certainly the scribe; assumed to be the author. A little lower in the margin, *ffortune be ffrendely.*

[2] Todd entitled no. 6 of his *Illustrations of the Lives and Writings of Gower and Chaucer, Poems supposed to be written by Chaucer during his imprisonment.*

Furnivall, *Temporary Prefaces*, p. 43, says: "The poems are certainly not Chaucer's." Skeat, IV, xiii, calls the assumption absurd, and instances defects. Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, I, 189, notes that the imprisonment fiction was begun by Speght, and was developed in 1721 in the biography prefixed to Urry's *Chaucer*. Its great pillar of strength was the attribution to Chaucer of *The Testament of Love*; the author of that poem in modelling after the *Boethius* may have derived his own imprisonment thence. Nicholas, *Life of Chaucer*, regards Rotheley as almost certainly the author of the poems.

[3] Todd's annotations attempt to bolster up the prison idea of his title, and

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Halfe in dede sclepe, not fully revyved,[4]
Rudely my sylfe as I lay alone,
With troubled dremes sore was I mevyd;
All wordly joy passed and overgone:
Me semyd full sore I made my mone;
[Of tyme passed, and loste, and tyme to come;][5]
Mynde, thowght, resonable wyt hadde I none;
Thus I lay sclomberyng a owre to my dome.

As thus I lay avexed full sore
In suche thynges, as of right bythe agayne nature,
I herde a voyce seyyng, Sclepe thow no more.
Aryse up, and wake to thy besy cure;[6]
Thy mynde, thy hert, thy body thow alure
to suche that wyll fall next, tho thy mynde;
Take thy penne in thy hand, stedfaste and sure;
Awake, awake, of comforte full blynde.

Thys voyce well I herde, and therto gave audyens;
I felt the entent, but I stode amased;
I wyste not what it ment; for I saw no presens.
Thus in pencyffenes sore was I crased,
And as a wytles man gretely adased
I gave no credence; anon I fell in sclepe,
From all kyndely wyt clene was I rased:
So to hys wordes I toke no grete kepe.

I supposed yt to have been some noxiall fantasy,
As fallyth in dremes, in parties of the nyght,
Which cometh of joy, or of grevous malady,
Or of robuste metes which causeth grete myght:
Overmoche replet obscuryth the syght
Of naturall reasoune, and causyth idyll thowght,
Makyth the body hevy where hyt was lyght.
So shortly to conclude; of thys voyce I ne rowght,

And not sclepte but a lytyll whyle,
But thys voyce well I herde; to me he sayde,
Awake, and aryse, thow dost thy sylfe begyle,
Aryse from the place where thow art layde:
Wyth that I awoke, and from my sclepe brayed,

---

have intensified the mistaken emphasis given to the prison background. Rotheley's one allusion

Say that thow were made in a prison colde,
Thy makir standyng in dysese and grevaunce,

is in general terms. The poet has light, leisure, and access to a costly book. He does a presentable job on the four large pages,—nothing hurried—title, capitals and all,—a job requiring materials and conveniences. The simplest assumption would be that Rotheley lived, perhaps under restraint, in the great place that housed the Ellesmere Chaucer.

[4] Todd: "These poems are found at the beginning of Lord Stafford's Manuscript of the Canterbury Tales, on two leaves before the Prologue; and written (though not in the same, yet) in a coeval hand . . . ."

[5] Line 6. From the *Facsimile of the Ellesmere Chaucer*; omitted by Todd.

[6] Line 12. Todd: "——*wake to thy busy cure*; this I conceive, alludes to his employment in prison, the composition of the *Testament of Love*." See note on line 70.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Marveling mych, and seyde *Benedicite*.
As a man unreasonable gretely dysmayed.
Ey, gode Lorde, what thyng may this be?

Hugely troubled, yet feythfully I beleeyd
That the voyce came from the celestyall place;
Wherefore I arose, not gretely agreeyd,
And beseawght God of hys especyall grace,
That he wolde be my socowre in this case;
Praying as yt followeth with hert and wyll;
Arysyng full lyghtely my sylfe did I brase,
Makyng my prayowre undyr thys skyll.

O *Reformer* of mankynde, one, ij. and iij,
Eternall Kynge, and Prynce most emperyall,
Veray God and man, O Blessyd Trynyte;
Which from owre mortall enemye redemyst us all,
And madest us free, where afore we were thrall;
Thorowgh dyvyne consayle of thy godhede,
Me to thy grace reconsyle and call,
Whome thow haste formyd to the figure of thy manhed.

And syth thy godhed hathe endewed me
Wyth vertues ij or iij full resonable,
Wyth wyt, mynde, resone, and volunte,
And other mo full delectable;
Yet I *confesse* my sylf moste unable
Wyth any thynge to medle, that grounded ys on prudens;
Of eloquence but symple, my cunnynge is unstable,
Therefore in me there ys no grete influens.

But O gode Lorde, syth I knowe hyt ys thy wyl,
As I conseyve by the voyce that thow dydest send,
Thy degre and comaundement trewly to fulfylle,
Wyth mynde, hert, and body, sewe and entend;
Me from all errowre kepe and defend
In this matyre, to the whych thow haste wyllyd me,[7]
As thow from erthe to hevyn dydest ascend,
Veray God and Man, O Blessed Trynyte.

Incepco materie cum proprietatibus Veeris, etc.[8]

All thyng ys ordaynyd by Goddys provysyon;
Man and beste, ayre, wedre and wynde,
Water and land, with ther dysposyon;
And eche in apparens schewyth theyre kynde.
The yere is devyded, as I wryttyn fynde,

---

[7] Line 70. Todd: "*In this matyre.* For which he had been imprisoned." No. Rotheley has just heard a voice from heaven; and to fulfill the *commandment* of 1. 67 he writes the second part of the poem.

[8] Todd: "This poem is evidently intended as a compliment to one of the noble house of Vere; and there can be no doubt that Robert Vere, [ninth] earl of Oxford, is the person complimented. He was the channel through which all the favor of Richard the second passed to the people; and to him therefore the poet naturally applies in his distress. The time of Chancer's imprisonment corresponds with the period when Vere's power was at its height."

The poem belongs to the fifteenth century. Todd has misunderstood the situation, the persons, and the motive of the poet.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

In monethes, wekes, and seasonnes, iij;[9]
In which wyth xij sygnes vij planetys ther be.

Of all tymes or seasonnes, wythowte comparysoun,
None ys found so gode, ne so precyous,
Ne none so prophetable, as ys the seasoun
Of lusty Veer; whos carrage so oderous[10]
Comfortyth every creature, and maketh them coragyus,
Avoydeth all dulness, and maketh them lusty,
In hert and body gladde, jocounde, and mery.

Whan passyd ys all clowdy derknesse,
All stormy schowrs ferre fledde fro syght,
Than lusty Veer schewyth hys swetnesse;
The wedyr cleryth, and by nature ys bryght;
The mone full pleasauntly gyffyth hyr lyght;
Than Veer comaundyth Apryll wyth hys schowyrs,
That may brynge forthe erbys and flowrys.

All trees than buddyth, aftyr fruyte bryngyth,
All sedys and cornys flowryth in prosperyte;
The nyghtyngale, the thrystcock, merely syngyth;
All fowles and bestys joyeth in ther degre.
He cawsyth all thyngs full jocounde to be.
Who than ys so precyous, or may do more,
Than lusty Veer, whom I lyken to a Bore![11]

To thys Bore he ys not lykenyd in condicion onely
But in properte, for properte gyffen more fructuous;
And the Bore in that seasoune approchyth naturally
To luste, and to lykynge, enforsyd marvelous,
He walketh joyyng, whettyng his tuskes;
Thynkyng, as long as contynuyth veere,
Nevyr to obey hys enemyes for feere.

He hovyth ne he wanyth for wynde ne blaste,
He dredeth no mystys, ne stormys, ne schowrys;
But standyth styffe in tryeuth, stronge as a maste,
And, to the lyons obeysaunce in all howrys,
Redy wyth hys power to helpe, in all stowrys,
The lyon hys lorde wher he standyth in dystresse,
Hys natyff attendaunt on the lyonnesse.

Thys Bore may well be callyd the Bore of grace,
Of whom prophesyes of Antiquite makyth mencion;
Which, as hyt is sayde, wythyn shorte space
Schall in grete nede socowre the lyonne,
And in that batell gete hym grete renoun,
Confounde hys mortall fone, ellys were grete ruyth;
That day shall be knowen hys permanent truth.

[9] Line 78. Todd: "*In monethes, weekes, and seasonnes iiij*; Where the author found this written I am unable to show." Rotheley is naming three ways of dividing the year.

[10] Line 83. *tarrage* in the manuscript.

[11] Todd: "One of the three supporters of the arms of Vere is a boar *azure*, armed *or*. The poet alludes to this heraldick distinction very plainly, ll. 128, 129, and 146."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

In hys persone ys founde so pure verite,[12]
And standeth so clene wythowte transgresse,
That all England may joy hys nativite;
Of contynewing truth he standeth pereles,
Hys progenie never distayned with falsenes;
Syth hys fyrst day he hathe contynwyd so demure
Unto now that he is here colowred with azure.

Now unto thys blew Bore honor and grace,
Joy, laude, and praysyng, fortune, and magnyficens;
Criste graunt hym of grace suche joy to purchace,
As may be worthy unto hys reverence!
For evyr in feyfull trouth hath ben hys permanence;
Wherefor now of all England he hathe avauntage,
Owte excepte the Blode Ryall, the most trewyst lynage.

Betwyxt Veer and thys I put no divisioun;
They standyth as one; who undyrstandyth aryght.
Veer wan thys blew Bore throwgh grete renoun,
At that tyme standyng a venturous knyght,
Seching aventurs and provynge hys myght:
In Hethenesse yet they say that Aubray the grymme
Benome the blew Bore his chyefe lymme.

Lo! for the proves of thys wurschippfull knyght,
That slewe thys Bore thorowgh strengyth of chyvalry,
All his auncestry ever syth, of veray dyew ryght,
Beryth hym azure enarmyd with gold, dependyge by
The worschyppfull armys of the olde auncestrye,
Quarterly gules and golde, and in the chyef quarter
A molet v poynte sylver, as I shall tell hereafter.

Beholde nowe the manhode, proves, and chyvalry,
Trowth, fortune, grace, and parfyte stedfastnes,
That evyr hath contynued in thys progenie.
Lo! wher hyt fortuned to stand in dystresse[13]
The kynge of Englande in the land of Hethynes,
A knyght of thys auncestry, gouernor, of hys puyshaunce,
For hys kynge thys be dydde of hys grete affyaunce.

Remembryng hys manhode, comfortyd with the Holy Goste,
Consyderyng hys feyth he drede no woo;
At mydnyght [juste] he sembled the kyngs ooste;[14]

---

[12] Line 122. Todd: "Alluding to the motto of the Veres, *Vero nil verius*. The allusion is the same in ll. 110, 121, 125, 133."

[13] Line 153. Todd: "The adventure which follows I find thus quaintly related in Morgan's *Sphere of Gentry*, fol. 1661, lib. 3, p. 40. The author is describing the arms of the Earl of Oxford. 'Quarterly *Mars* and *Sol* in the first, a mullet of six points *Luna*, borne by the Earls of Oxford, *Urania* leaving the starry firmament to become a comet in the shield of *Aubrey de Vere* and lighting on his lance-point; serving to portend destruction to the Saracens in the Holy Land, and becoming a blazing star to give light to the whole Christian army to pursue their victory; whereby, though the day was not longer by the sun's standing still, yet the night became as the day. So he beareth the mullet of six points because *radiis veniet fervidioribus.*' And so indeed Morgan afterwards displays this armorial bearing, lib. 4, p. 65."

[14] Line 159. Todd omits *juste*.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The nyght so derke not knowyng hys foo:
To the kynge unwyttyng that it sholde be so;
Prayng full hertlye, he fyll to the grounde,
That God wolde sende hym lyght hys enemye to confounde.

To thys prayowr so devoute God gave exaudicion,
Not wyllyng hys cristened fygure utterly to be spylt;
Every man than knelyng devowtely sayde their orysoun;
Lorde for thy pité have mercy on owr gylt,
Save us, or spyll us, do as thou wilt!
Thys prayowr fynyshed, ther sprange into his shelde
A v poynte mollet, which lyghtnyd all hys felde.

Thus he was inspyred with the grace of the Holy Goste;[15]
Hys enemyes were obscuryd, and voyde of all myght;
God comfortyd and chered hym and all hys oste,
And endewyd thys mollet with a plentuous lyght;
The hethen were obscuryd and hadde no syght.
So he put hys enemyes to utter confusyoun,
Dystressyd the felde, and gate hym grete renoun.

O thow Roiall Bore, fullfyllyd with grace,
That of such [a] mollet nowe hathe donacion,[16]
Cryste graunt thé contynewyng tyme and space,
That the mollet may resplende over every region,
Worthely and knyghtely as a lorde of renown.
And for the encrece of thy lyght, that hyt fall not derke,
All England owyth to pray wyth entyer devocion,
Man, chylde, and wyffe, both preste and clerke!
Amen.

Go, lytell Balade, full rude of composicion,
Softe and mekely no thynge to bolde;
Pray all, that of thé shall have inspexion,
Thy derke ignoraunce that they pardon wolde;
Sey that thow were made in a pryson colde,
Thy makir standyng in dysese and grevaunce,
Which cawsed hym thé so symply to avaunce!

It is first to be noted that the work of Rotheley is not, as Todd supposes, two poems—rather one poem in two parts: an introduction of nine stanzas rhyming *ababbcbc,* and the poem proper in rhyme royal except for its sixteenth stanza which reverts to the eight-line form of the proem. The proem begins without a title: it details the melancholy troubling the poet's sleep, the voice commanding him to write, his bewilderment and neglect; the rebuke in the second utterance from heaven, the prayer, the apologetic disclaimer of wit and influence, the devout obedience.

[15] Line 171. Todd: "The mullet, says Guillim, was supposed to represent some divine quality bestowed from above whereby men do shine in virtue, learning, and works of piety, like bright stars on the earth; and these are *stellae dismisse e coelo,* stars let down from heaven by God."

[16] Line 179. Todd omits *a,* and expands *dñacion* to *donacion* instead of *domination.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

In the poem proper Rotheley introduces the divine origin of the seasons (stanza 1); allegorizes Vere as the springtime (2, 3, 4); interprets Vere as the boar (5-9); indulges in prophecy (7); develops the personal qualities and deserts of Vere (8, 9); recounts the history of the Vere badge and arms (10-15). He plays off *Vere* against *veer*, the spring, and against *verity;* he is mindful of the Vere motto, *vero nil verius.*

Rotheley's devotion takes expression in strong terms: Vere is the champion who will rescue the lion, he is spring coming upon the land, he is the mullet come down from heaven; in loyalty and worth superior to any in England, royal blood excepted. There are hints of peril to the Lion, presagings of battle.

The poem seems intended for the eye of the "Royal Boar" addressed in the next to the last stanza. That phrase forces another issue to the front: Oxford is not royal; the poet had expressly noted the fact in l. 135:

> Owte except the Blode Ryall the most trewyst lynage.

And there is after 1462 a Royal Boar known later as Richard III. This stanza might be written to him in the years of his authority. All England "owyth" to pray for him; he has domination over the mullet (Oxford is in prison); his grace could cause the mullet to shine resplendent as a lord of renown. The poet desires that consummation.

We need some reminders of the situation.

When the Yorkist faction came into power the twelfth earl of Oxford along with other Lancastian nobles made his peace. But in 1462 while Queen Margaret was bargaining with France and Scotland for the invasion of England, King Edward found Oxford to be in communication with her. The earl and his eldest son, Aubrey, were hastily tried by the butcher Tiptoft, and drawn and quartered. The Vere family was attainted; Edward bestowed on Richard, Duke of Gloucester, no fewer than forty-six of Oxford's manors.[17]

By 1464 the grace of King Edward had lighted on John Vere, second son of the twelfth earl. The old acts of attainder passed against the Veres in 1397 and 1399 were reversed; and John, the thirteenth earl married a sister of the Kingmaker, a cousin of King

[17] Jesse, *Memoirs of King Richard the Third*, I, 52.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Edward and Duke Richard. Thereafter, so long as Warwick lived, Oxford was a cog in the political machine of the Nevilles. Implication in the disturbances of 1468 brought imprisonment in the Tower. He was freed in January, 1469, and helped restore Henry VI in 1470. After the battles by which Edward won back the throne in 1471 Oxford fled from England. In 1472 the Veres were again attainted: Oxford's possessions fell once more to Richard's hands. In 1473 the earl and his brothers, Sir George and Sir Thomas invaded England; 1474 brought to an end their romantic defense of St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall. From 1475 to 1484 the earl was in a castle prison at Hammes in Picardy (English territory). Sir John Paston, June, 1477, hints at a disappointed expectation of the earl's return to England.[18] Again in August, 1478, he speaks of a common opinion that Oxford's attempt to escape from Hammes was an attempt at suicide.[19] The Vere family, however, made some progress in favor: in 1478 the attainder of Sir Thomas Vere was reversed and his manor of Dullingham returned to him; in 1481 King Edward, to relieve the pinches of poverty, bestowed on his cousin, the Countess of Oxford, a hundred pounds a year.

With the connivance of his jailors, Oxford, in 1484, left Hammes to join Richmond for the invasion of England. The ballad, "The Rose of England" tells of Richmond how

> He brought the blew bore in with him
> To encounter with the bore so white.[20]

The blue boar fought victoriously; and after Bosworth the Oxford estates and hereditary offices were restored to the thirteenth earl.

Rotheley's poem is not concerned with the exploits of a particular Vere but with the merits of the Vere family: the poet is trying to bring the worth of the Veres to the attention of the Royal Boar, apparently with the thirteenth earl in mind.

Polydore Vergil tells how Richmond prized the character and the help of Oxford:

> When Henry (Richmond) saw therle he was ravisshyd with joy incredible that a man of so great nobilytie and knowledge in the warres, and of moste perfyte and sound fydelytie, most earnestly bent to his syde, was at the last by Gods assistance delyveryd owt of ward, and in so fyt tyme coommyd to

[18] *Paston Letters*, III, 195.

[19] *Ibid.*, III, 235.

[20] Child, No. 166.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

help him, in whome he might repose his hope and settle himself more safely than in any other; for he was not ignorant that many who had holden in king Edward ayde yeaned unto him by reason of the evill state of time. But this man who had so oft fought for king Henry was he thought deprived from that ward by the heresy help, that he might have one of his owne faction to whom he might safely commyt all things: and therfor repyning above all measure for therle of Oxfordis comming, he began to hope better of his affaires.[21]

It is true that Richard held Oxford's possessions. But after the death of Edward IV he might have been willing to buy ability and truth at a high rate. The peerage was depleted. After his coronation he made many gifts," leading his life in great agony and doubt, trusting few of such as were about him."[22]

Oxford's wife and his brother had found some grace in the face of King Edward. And if any friend dared to recommend any leniency toward the imprisoned earl this would be natural ground - the character, ability, and truth of generations of Veres:[23]

Hys progenie never distayned with falseness.

The address to the Royal Boar is meant for Richard's eye; the simplest interpretation says, this is Richard's book.

I have no proof that the book had belonged to the Veres; it seems, however, a likely guess. Their property had passed into Richard's hands. A poet writing eulogy of the Veres in order to win grace for them from a royal enemy might well be puzzled: how can he present his document without offense? Eulogy of the Veres would not seem wholly out of place in a book which had belonged to the family. The poet refrains from provocatory allusion; and his praise of the boar might be as acceptable to a white boar as to a blue.

Not that Rotheley solves his problem; he does not comfort himself with that thought. He cites the justification of a command from heaven. He confesses lack of wit, skill, eloquence; he has little influence. His apologetic *envoy* recognizes the nature of his expedient.

Of Rotheley we know only this poem.[24] He is versed in the

[21] Polydore Vergil, pp. 208-09.

[22] Ramsay, Lancaster and York, II, 542.

[23] An appeal to exactly the sentiment voiced in 1626 by Chief Justice Crewe toward the Vere family: "I suppose there is no man that hath any apprehension of gentry or nobleness, but his affection stands to the continuance of so noble a name and house."

[24] There are Rotheleys enough: but I find nothing to link our Rotheley with any other mention of the name.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

traditions of the Vere family. He praises their ideals: by the blazing star God had borne witness to their worth; and heaven, now, once more bears witness by a voice—obeyed by the poet in prayerful mood.

Rotheley's copyhand is that of a ready writer; he knows how to make a Latin title. His verses lack facility. A bookish man: and he had familiar access to the beautiful Ellesmere Chaucer, and wrote therein lines to the Royal Boar.

Rotheley's poem leads naturally to a conjecture that the Ellesmere manuscript once belonged to the Veres. Names signed and scribbled in the pages furnish hints as to later ownership—likewise speculative.

In her Preface to the Facsimile, Lady Alice Egerton states briefly the known facts in the history of the manuscript. Her first definite assignment of possession is to Roger North.[25] From the names written on the blank pages she lists nine others; they are from Norfolk and Suffolk families prominent in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—families often mentioned in the *Paston Letters*.

1. Edward Waldegrave of the Friars, Sudbury, d. 1500.[26]
2. His niece Margaret or Margery Waldegrave married Sir John St. John of Bletso; their daughter was named Margaret or Margery. Margery St. John is doubtless one of these ladies.
3. Sir Robert Drury, Knt., of Hawstead in Suffolk, Speaker of the House of Commons, died in 1536. His first wife was Anne, daughter of Sir William Calthorpe.
4. Thomas Calthorp was probably a relative of Anne Calthorp.
5. Mr. Edmund Bedingfelde is perhaps Edmund, the son of Queen Elizabeth's gaoler, Sir Henry Bedingfelde. This Edmund died in 1585.

The children of Sir Robert Drury:

6. Sir William Drury, member of the Privy Council, d. 1557-8.
7. (Sir Robert Drury: Lady Egerton has omitted his name)
8. Anne, married first, George Waldegrave, a brother of the Margery Waldegrave named above; after his death in 1528, Anne married Sir Thomas Jermyn of Rushbrook: she is probably the Domina Jarmin of the manuscript.
9. Bridget, married Sir John Jernegan, Knt., of Cossey (son of Sir Edward Jernegan by his first wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir Edward Bedingfield). She is probably the Domina Jarningham or Jernegan.
10. Ursula, married Sir Giles Alington of Horseheath, Cambridgeshire. She is probably the Domina Alington.

Of the persons here listed by Lady Egerton, Bedingfield alone stands outside of the immediate Drury family connection. Further-

[25] *Roger North, Durum pati, 68* is written in the manuscript twice. (North signs with this motto in other books.) In this manuscript he has more than once copied in verses and signed *R. N. 68* probably means 1568.

[26] More probably the Edward Waldegrave, third son of Anne Drury and George Waldegrave, mentioned, Nicholas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 630.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

more, the Drury names are written in a formal family list in one careful hand at the top of a page—Sir Robert followed by the five children. It seems a fair inference that the book was in possession of the Drurys.

This family list in the manuscript cannot antedate 1528, for Anne Drury's first husband, George Waldegrave, died in that year; and she is here called by her second husband's name, Jarmin: it should be as early as 1536, for in that year Sir Robert Drury, the elder, died.

Old Sir Robert was a person of importance—a member of the Privy Council, a friend and neighbor of the Veres. The thirteenth earl of Oxford in 1509 named Sir Robert one of his executors.[27] Oxford died in 1513.

---

27 Nicholas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 527.

General note. Other material ranging from trivial to important has been written on margin and end leaf. The chief of these, the first three stanzas of "Truth," and the table of contents of the manuscript, have had notice from Skeat and others. The table, in a hand of the middle of the fifteenth century, omits mention of the *General Prologue*. It lists the stories by teller and title: the Squire's tale is "Of Dame Canacee"; the Prioress tells "Of Yonge Hugh of Lyncoln." It is of real importance to know the names—the misapplied as well as the correct names—under which stories circulated.

The most trivial matter includes copy maxim and youthful scribblings. One page carries two "posies" above a partly illegible signature—apparently *Willm Graye*. More deserving of notice is the alliterative list at the top of the page on which the Pardoner begins: *Poticarie, Pibaker, Podingwright, Pardnor, Paulmer*. Here are three of the *Four P's*; the hand is late.

An end leaf contains the direction for a message to Bedingfelde. Another page carries a greeting to *John Neve* of Oxburgh—the Bedingfields had a great house there. *John Jernegan* practices his signature on various pages. *Margery* is frequent, once with careful lettering; and there is the sentence, *Margery Seynt John ys a shrew*. *Eycherd Halle* signs twice with the book wrong side up; *William Sayer*—there is nothing to connect his signature with that esquire belonging to the guard set over the last days of Henry VI. Such items deserve further study: and there are many others of undetermined significance.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ENGLISH LITERATURE OF THE RESTORATION AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: A CURRENT BIBLIOGRAPHY

By RONALD S. CRANE
University of Chicago

This bibliography attempts to list the more significant books and articles published during the year 1925, together with a few books bearing a 1924 imprint the inclusion of which seemed to be warranted by special circumstances. Owing to limitations of space, the list makes no pretence to completeness in any of its parts; I have, in fact, deliberately excluded a large number of publications which, in my judgment, contribute nothing new in the way either of fact or of interpretation. I shall be grateful to anyone who will inform me of important omissions, or call my attention to privately printed or otherwise not easily accessible publications which should be included in subsequent installments of the bibliography.[1] Professors G. R. Havens, H. M. Jones, and A. D. McKillop have kindly furnished me with the notes signed with their respective initials.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHR=*American historical review.*
Archiv=*Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen.*
Beiblatt=*Beiblatt zur Anglia.*
EHR=*English historical review.*
ES=*Englische Studien.*
GRM=*Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift.*
JEGP=*Journal of English and Germanic philology.*
MLN=*Modern language notes.*
MLR=*Modern language review.*
MP=*Modern philology.*
N&Q=*Notes and queries.*
PMLA=*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.*
PQ=*Philological quarterly.*
RAA=*Revue anglo-américaine.*
RGC=*Revue des cours et conférences.*
RELV=*Revue de l'enseignement des langues vivantes.*
RES=*Review of English studies.*
RH=*Revue historique.*
RHL=*Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France.*
RLC = *Revue de littérature comparée.*

[1] It is expected that hereafter these will appear annually in the April issue of the *Philological Quarterly.*

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

RSH=Revue de synthèse historique.
SP=Studies in philology.
TLS=Times [London] *literary supplement.*
SRL=Saturday review of literature.

I. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AIDS

Annual bibliography of English language and literature. Volume V, 1924. Edited for the Modern Humanities Research Association by A. C. Paues. Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1925.

The Ashley library: a catalogue of printed books, manuscripts and autograph letters collected by Thomas James Wise. Volume VI [and VII]. London: Printed for private circulation only, 1925.

The following eighteenth-century writers are represented in these two volumes: Sterne (mainly in Vol. V; important), Swift (important), Nahum Tate, Thomson, Sir Samuel Tuke, Vanbrugh, Waller (important), and Mary Wollstonecraft.

Autograph letters, historical documents and author's original manuscripts. London: Maggs Bros., 1925. Catalogue No. 459.

Unusually rich in eighteenth-century manuscripts, many of which are printed in full or in part.

Baugh, A. C. "American bibliography for 1924. I. English language and literature." *PMLA,* XL (1925), 1-20.

See especially pp. 12-15.

Chapman, R. W. "A technical use of *book.*" *Library,* 4th series, VI (1925), 278-79.

English literature and printing from the 15th to the 18th century. London: Maggs Bros., 1925. Catalogues 461 and 462.

An important catalogue, with a great many eighteenth-century titles.

Gibson, Strickland and M. A. "An index to Rawlinson's collections (*circa* 1700-50) for a new edition of Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses.*" *Proceedings and papers of the Oxford Bibliographical society,* Vol. I, Part II (Oxford, 1925), pp. 67-95.

A valuable tool for biographical research.

Greenlaw, Edwin. "Modern English romanticism." *SP,* XXII (1925), 538-50.

Notes on a number of recent studies, several of them pertaining to the eighteenth century.

Hawkes, A. J. *Lancashire printed books: a bibliography of all the books printed in Lancashire down to the year 1800.* Wigan: Printed for the Public Libraries Committee, 1925.

Rev. by A. W. P[ollard] in *Library,* 4th series, VI (1925), 203-04.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Kaye, F. B. [Review of Henry R. Plomer, *A dictionary of the printers and booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725.*] *MLN,* XL (1925), 164-71.

Points out grave deficiencies in method and documentation.

McKerrow, R. B. "Bibliographical terms." *TLS,* Oct. 29, 1925, p. 719.

Sensible remarks on the use of "edition," "issue," and "impression."

Madan, Falconer. "The Oxford Press, 1650-75: the struggle for a place in the sun." *Library,* 4th series, VI (1925), 113-47.

Contains a list of "Some notable books, printed at Oxford, 1650-75."

Murphy, Gwendolen. *A bibliography of English character-books, 1608-1700.* Printed at the Oxford University Press for the Bibliographical Society, 1925.

Lists "regular character-books" (Part I), "controversial characters" (Part II), and "books, other than character-books, which contain characters" (Appendix). An admirable example of careful bibliographical method.

Northup, Clark Sutherland, and others. *A register of bibliographies of the English language and literature.* New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1925.

Rev. by R. S. Crane in *MP,* XXIII (1926), 501-05; by A. W. P[ollard] in *Library,* 4th series, VI (1926), 393-94; by A. W. Reed in *RES,* II (1926), 368-69; by H. B. Van Hoesen in *Library journal,* Feb. 15, 1926, pp. 179-82.

Restoration books to be sold by Birrell and Garnett. London: Birrell and Garnett, 1925. Catalogue No. 11.

Contains 727 items.

Van Tieghem, Paul. "Principaux ouvrages récents de littérature générale et comparée." *RSH,* XL (1925), 113-52.

An excellent annual review, now in its ninth year. Section II (pp. 124-38) deals with publications relating to the "Renaissance et âge classique." Van Tieghem's reviews are particularly notable for their numerous and usually very penetrating remarks on method.

Williams, Judith B. *A guide to the printed materials for English social and economic history, 1750-1850.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1925.

II. GENERAL STUDIES

Andreae, G. *The dawn of juvenile literature in England.* Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1925.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Berger, Pierre. *Les poètes préromantiques anglais; introduction, traduction et notes.* Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, [1925].

Rev. by L. Cazamian in *RAA*, III (1925), 137-38; by R. Galland in *Les langues modernes*, XXIII (1925), 343-44.

Birkhead, Edith. "Sentiment and sensibility in the eighteenth century novel." *Essays and studies by members of the English Association*, XI (Oxford, 1925), 92-116.

A useful brief synthesis which, though it does not modify current notions regarding the rôle of "sensibility" in eighteenth-century fiction, nevertheless brings together a certain number of unfamiliar facts and texts. Apropos of the change in the meaning of "sentiment" discussed on pp. 93-95, reference might have been made to Johnson's *Dictionary* (see also the definitions of "feeling" and "sensibility"). With regard to Richardson's attitude toward sentiment (pp. 101-04), an illuminating commentary, not noted by Miss Birkhead, is to be found in his letter to Miss Highmore of July 20, 1750 (see *Correspondence*, ed. Barbauld, II, 252).

Bissell, Benjamin. *The American Indian in English literature of the eighteenth century.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925.

Rev. by B. V. Crawford in *PQ*, V (1926), 188-89; in *RLC*, VI (1926), 185.

Contains chapters on "The Indian as represented by historians and travellers," "Theories of savage life and the state of nature," "Civilization as seen by the savage," "The Indian in fiction," "The Indian in drama," and "The Indian in poetry." A rather superficial piece of work. The documentation, though fairly extensive for the period after 1750, is very scanty for the first half of the century. There is no indication that Bissell has gone systematically through the periodicals, the travel books, or the miscellanies for any portion of his field; for the most part he confines himself to texts that were already fairly well known to scholars (though we miss a discussion of Defoe), with occasional references to less familiar writings. He is particularly unsatisfactory in dealing with the philosophical background of the conception of the "noble savage." He refers (p. 41n) to Lovejoy's important article in *MP* for Nov. 1923; but he has clearly not taken its conclusions to heart in what he has to say (pp. 42 ff) of Rousseau as the "great originator" of the "pure state of nature." The organization of the book, too, leaves much to be desired. Surely in a monograph dealing with a movement of ideas, distinctions of literary genres are of little significance: what is essential is that we should be able to follow easily the historical unfolding of the conception that is being studied. Finally, it is unpardonable that in a book containing so much detail as this there should be no bibliography.

Bracey, Robert. *Eighteenth century studies.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1925.

Rev. by P. Yvon in *RAA*, III (1926), 348-49.

Contains essays on Boswell, Johnson, Hannah More, and Psalmanazar. The author is an English Catholic.

Bredvold, Louis I. "The religious thought of Donne in relation to medieval and later traditions." *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton and Donne by members of the English department of*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

the University of Michigan (New York: Macmillan, 1925), pp. 193-232.

Contains much of value to the student of religious ideas after the Restoration.

Burtt, Edwin Arthur. *The metaphysical foundations of modern physical science.* London: Kegan Paul; New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1925.

Rev. by H. T. Costello in the *Journal of philosophy*, XXIII (1926), 47-50; by J. W. N. Sullivan in the *Calendar of modern letters*, I (1925), 400-03.

No student of the history of ideas in English literature during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can afford to miss this book. It is a serious study, written in a style that is at once clear and lively, of the gradual formation in the seventeenth century of the mechanistic world-view characteristic of modern physical science. In a half-dozen long and closely packed chapters Burtt passes in review the metaphysical doctrines of Copernicus and Kepler, of Galileo, of Descartes, of the English philosophers (Hobbes, More, etc.), of Gilbert and Boyle, and of Newton. How trustworthy a guide he is through this vast field it is impossible for a mere literary historian to say, but there can be no denying either the importance of the field or the skill with which he has wrought his difficult materials into an illuminating historical synthesis. Whoever undertakes hereafter to deal with such questions as the rise of classical critical theory or the conception of nature in eighteenth-century poetry is bound to incur a large debt to this solid and informing book.

C., J. Z. "*The Norwich Gazette*, 1730." *N & Q*, CXLVIII (1925), 21-23, 43-45.

Clark, A. F. B. *Boileau and the French classical critics in England (1660-1830).* Paris: Champion, 1925. ("Bibliothèque de la Revue de littérature comparée," No. 19.)

Rev. by E. Audra in *RLC*, VI (1926), 162-70; by L. Cazamian in *RAA*, III (1925), 150-51; by C. H. C. Wright in *MLN*, XLI (1926), 275-77.

In four substantial "books" the author deals with the history of Boileau's reputation in England, with the translations and imitations of his works, with the reputation of the principal other French classical critics, and with Boileau's "influence on English literature." Six appendices, comprising various *pièces justificatives*, and an elaborate bibliography conclude the volume. The result is one of the half-dozen most important publications of the year in the field of eighteenth-century studies, a book which throws much new light, not only on the specific problem of the action of Boileau and other French critics in England, but also on a number of questions of possibly more general interest to the historian of English taste in the eighteenth century. On such matters as the vogue of burlesque and the mock-heroic (pp. 150-68, 327-36), the attitude toward Italian Renaissance poetry (pp. 337-60), the conception of the "sublime" (pp. 361-79), the change in poetic style after the Restoration (pp. 407-17), and the development of formal satire (pp. 418-48), Clark has given us some of the most intelligent and discriminating pages that have so far been written. He is less satisfactory in his account of the school of "good sense" (pp. 380-89), for here he is largely content to follow Spingarn, and in consequence, I think, unduly neglects the philosophical background of the critical theories involved; and it would not be difficult to find *lacunae* here and there in his documentation (he does relatively little, for example, with periodical criticism). But when all is said, his information is surprisingly complete and exact, and what is more important, he knows how to transmute his facts into illuminating ideas.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The most serious reservation suggested by a reading of the book concerns the general point of view from which the study is conducted. The task which Clark has set himself—to determine the extent and nature of Boileau's influence on English literature—is fundamentally an impossible one: no scholar, be he ever so critical, can escape that insidious "hypnotism of the unique source" which is inseparable from studies of this sort. And Clark is nothing if not critical. He is so critical, indeed, so admirably sophisticated in all that concerns method, that his book, especially in its later pages, constitutes one of the clearest demonstrations I know of the essential futility of the type of investigation to which he has devoted himself. For after loyally mentioning all the difficulties and alternative possibilities, he ends, almost in spite of himself, by brushing them aside and seeing Boileau everywhere!

Closs, Karl. "Jakob Böhmes Aufnahme in England." *Archiv*, CXLVIII (1925), 18-27.

A convenient collection of texts referring to Böhme from 1644 to 1761.

Crane, Verner W. *The promotion literature of Georgia.* Cambridge [Mass.], 1925. Reprinted from *Bibliographical essays: a tribute to Wilberforce Eames.*

The writer deals briefly (pp. 15-16) with the part played by Thomson, Savage, Aaron Hill, and other poets in promoting enthusiasm for Georgia. *Tomochachi, an ode* (1736), here ascribed to Samuel Wesley, Jr., was probably the work of the Rev. Thomas Fitzgerald. See I. A. Williams in the *London mercury*, XII (1925), 86.

De Maar, Harko G. *A history of modern English romanticism.* Volume I: *Elizabethan and modern romanticism in the eighteenth century.* London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1924.

Rev. by L. Cazamian in *RAA*, III (1925), 72-74; by Bernhard Fehr in *Beiblatt*, XXXVI (1925), 129-33.

Dobrée, Bonamy. *Essays in biography, 1680-1726.* London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1925.

Rev. by K. A. Esdaile in *Library*, 4th series, VI (1926), 386-88; in *TLS*, Dec. 10, 1925, p. 855.

Stracheyesque essays on Etherege, Vanbrugh, and Addison (who is characterized as "the first of the Victorians").

Dobrée, Bonamy. *Restoration comedy, 1660-1720.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924.

Rev. by L. Cazamian in *RAA*, II (1925), 546-47; by Allardyce Nicoll in *Litteris*, II (1925), 102-04.

Doughty, Oswald. "Eighteenth-century song." *English studies*, VII (1925), 161-69.

Fehr, B. "Ein Wort zur englischen Empfindsamkeitsliteratur des 18. Jahrhunderts." *Anglica: Untersuchungen zur englischen Philologie Alois Brandl. . . . überreicht*, II (Leipzig, 1925), 295-312.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

An interesting synthesis of recent studies of eighteenth-century sentimentalism.

Fenn, Percy Thomas, Jr. "The Latitudinarians and toleration." *Washington University studies,* Vol. XIII, Humanistic series, No. 1, Oct., 1925, pp. 181-245.

Fries, Charles C. "The periphrastic future with *shall* and *will* in modern English." *PMLA,* XL (1925), 963-1024.

Suggestive remarks on the eighteenth-century attitude toward linguistic usage.

Graham, Walter. "Some predecessors of the *Tatler.*" *JEGP,* XXIV (1925), 548-54.

Greenlaw, Edwin. "The new science and English literature in the seventeenth century." *Johns Hopkins alumni magazine,* XIII (1925), 331-59.

The main purpose of this address (delivered before the Tudor-Stuart Club at the Johns Hopkins University, Jan. 16, 1925) is to point out that "we shall not arrive at a just valuation of seventeenth century literature . . . . until we study to better purpose the intellectual soil out of which it sprang," and in particular the "philosophical aspects of the scientific movement of the period 1543-1662, from Copernicus to the foundation of the Royal Society." There can of course be no dispute as to the soundness of this general position. What is not so certain is that Greenlaw, in the program of research which he outlines, has laid stress on those aspects of the scientific movement which are most significant for an understanding of the literary development. It is impossible, for example, to comprehend the rise of neo-classicism, particularly on its doctrinal side, without reference to the gradual establishment in the seventeenth century of a characteristic world-view, in the formation of which the new science played a fundamental part. Of this phase of his subject Greenlaw has little or nothing to say. On the other hand, many of his observations—notably those on Bacon's idea of nature (p. 340), on Sprat (pp. 342-43, 347), and on the conception of the place of natural science in poetry (pp. 348-55)—are both fresh and suggestive, and the paper as a whole exhibits that feeling for the larger perspectives of literary history which distinguishes all of its author's writings.

Grierson, H. J. C. *The background of English literature and other collected essays and addresses.* London: Chatto and Windus, 1925.

Contains essays on "The Metaphysical Poets," "Blake and Gray," and "Classical and romantic: a point of view."

Gunther, R. T. *Early science in Oxford.* Volume IV: *The Philosophical Society.* Oxford: For subscribers only, 1925.

Rev. in *TLS,* June 18, 1925, p. 415.

Hittmair, Rudolf. "Die Arbeit bei Langland, Locke, Carlyle. I." *GRM,* XIII (1925), 94-101.

Interesting generalizations on seventeenth-century theories of labor, with special attention to Locke.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Hölzle, Erwin. *Die Idee einer altgermanischen Freiheit vor Montesquieu.* Munich and Berlin: Oldenbourg, 1925.

Rev. by Henri Sée in *RH*, CLI (1926), 281-82.

Valuable for students of English because of its careful discussion of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century ideas on liberty among the Anglo-Saxons.

Howard, Claud. "Coleridge's idealism in its relation to Kant and to the English Platonists of the seventeenth century." *University of Chicago Abstracts of theses*, Humanistic series, I (1925), 385-89.

Howell, Almonte C. "Sir Thomas Browne and seventeenth-century scientific thought." *SP*, XXII (1925), 61-80.

Jones, Richard F. "Eclogue types in English poetry of the eighteenth century." *JEGP*, XXIV (1925), 33-60.

Kaufman, Paul. "Defining romanticism: a survey and a program." *MLN*, XL (1925), 193-204.

Ker, W. P. *Collected essays.* London: Macmillan, 1925. 2 vols.

Rev. in *TLS*, Nov. 19, 1925, p. 768.

Contains papers on Dryden, Horace Walpole, Thomas Warton, Joseph Ritson, and Burns and a general essay on "The eighteenth century."

King, R. W. "Italian influence on English scholarship and literature during the 'Romantic revival.'" *MLR*, XX (1925), 48-63, 295-304; XXI (1926), 24-43.

Should be supplemented, for the eighteenth century, by Clark, *Boileau . . . . in England*, pp. 337-60. An adequate study of the subject is badly needed.

Krutch, Joseph Wood. *Comedy and conscience after the Restoration.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1924.

Rev. by J. W. Draper in *MLN*, XLI (1926), 332-34; by G. H. Nettleton in *SRL*, Feb. 28, 1925, p. 561; by Allardyce Nicoll in *MLR*, XX (1925), 473-74; by Jacob Zeitlin in the *Nation*, Feb. 4, 1925, p. 124.

Legouis, Pierre. "Deux thèmes de la poésie lyrique au XVII^e^ siècle: *La plainte escrite de sang* et *La belle gueuse.*" *RLC*, V (1925), 139-52.

A study of two borrowings from the Italian sonneteer Claudio Achillini in the *Lyric poems* (1687) of Philip Ayres, with a postscript on the sources of Lovelace in "The faire begger."

Liddell, M. F. "Der Stil der englischen Geschichtsschreibung im 18. Jahrhundert." *Anglica*, II (1925), 313-85.

A useful study of the art of historical exposition as practiced by White Kennett, John Oldmixon, Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon. The writer seems not to know Fueter's important chapter on the English historians of the eighteenth century in his *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie* (1911).

McCutcheon, R. P. "Notes on the occurrence of the sonnet and blank verse." *MLN*, XL (1925), 513-14.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

A few gleanings from periodicals before 1725 supplementing R. D. Havens's *Influence of Milton.*

McIntyre, Clara F. "The later career of the Elizabethan villain-hero." *PMLA*, XL (1925), 874-80.

Rather obvious parallels between the "villain-heroes" of Elizabethan romantic tragedy and typical characters in the romances of Mrs. Radcliffe and Monk Lewis.

Manwaring, Elizabeth Wheeler. *Italian landscape in eighteenth century England: a study chiefly of the influence of Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa on English taste, 1700-1800.* New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1925.

Rev. by A. Digeon in *RAA*, III (1925), 152-53; by B. Fehr in *Beiblatt*, XXXVI (1925), 295-304; by R. D. Havens in *MLN*, XLI (1926), 132-33; by E. B. Smith in *SRL*, Aug. 29, 1925, p. 80; in *TLS*, Aug. 13, 1925, pp. 525-26.

The main conclusion which this book endeavors to establish is stated clearly at the beginning of the Preface: "the landscape which was taken as a model by Thomson and Dyer, by Kent and Shenstone, by Mrs. Radcliffe, was Italian, the landscape of the seventeenth century painters, Claude Lorrain, Salvator Rosa, the Poussins, and the long line of their followers and imitators, French, Dutch, and English." It is an interesting thesis, and Miss Manwaring develops it with a wealth of learning in the texts of the period which makes her volume an extremely valuable storehouse of materials for the history of eighteenth-century taste. As is nearly always the case, however, with studies which attempt to explain a complex development by reference to a single cause, she does not quite succeed in convincing us of the truth of her central contention. We read and are instructed; we carry away with us an impression that the vogue of Salvator and Claude was indeed very considerable; we gain a fairly clear understanding of the qualities for which each of these painters was prized; but we cannot persuade ourselves in the end that their influence was as far-reaching or as decisive as is here implied. To a certain extent Miss Manwaring has herself to blame for our skepticism. Her book is not well composed. She is too much dominated by her *fiches;* her chapters are not built firmly on a basis of general ideas; her organization shows little evident progression from the beginning of the book to the end; she rather bewilders us by her habit of skipping irresponsibly back and forth over the whole century. It is a pity, for with her extensive knowledge of the whole field of eighteenth-century landscape art, she might have given us a book which would have been an illuminating rather than a merely informing treatment of the subject.—Pp. 163-65: The account of the English garden in France suffers from Miss Manwaring's failure to consult Mornet's fundamental study of the question in his *Sentiment de la nature en France de J.-J. Rousseau à Bernardin de Saint-Pierre* (Paris, 1907).

Muddiman, J. G. "The second newspaper of English news." *TLS*, April 9, 1925, p. 253.

Comment by Alfred Robbins, *ibid.*, April 23, 1925, p. 285.

Murphy, Gwendolen. *A cabinet of characters.* London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1925.

A useful anthology of seventeenth-century "characters," with a few from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries added to show the persistence of the genre. The Introduction deals in a rather sketchy way with the nature

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

of the "character," its rise in modern England, and its relation to such forms as the epigram, the essay, the sermon, satire, and comedy.

Murphy, Gwendolen. "'England's Helicon.'" *TLS*, May 14, 1925, p. 335.

On punctuation and rhythm in seventeenth-century "characters."

Nethercot, A. H. "The attitude toward 'metaphysical' poetry in neo-classical England." *University of Chicago Abstracts of theses*, Humanistic series, I (1925), 395-97.

Nethercot, A. H. "The reputation of the 'metaphysical poets' during the age of Pope." *PQ*, IV (1925), 161-79.

Nethercot, A. H. "The reputation of the 'metaphysical poets' during the age of Johnson and the 'Romantic revival.'" *SP*, XXII (1925), 81-132.

Nicoll, Allardyce. *British drama: an historical survey from the beginnings to the present time.* London: Harrap, 1925.

Good chapters on the Restoration and eighteenth century.

Nicoll, Allardyce. *A history of early eighteenth century drama, 1700-1750.* Cambridge: University Press, 1925.

Rev. by L. Cazamian in *EAA*, III (1925), 70-72; by A. Koszul in *Les langues modernes*, XXIII (1925), 573-74; by Edith J. Morley in *RES*, I (1925), 364-66; by D. H. Stevens in *MP*, XXIII (1925), 250-51; by A. S. Turberville in *History*, X (1926), 345; in *TLS*, March 12, 1925, p. 169.

In method and plan of treatment this volume follows closely its author's *History of Restoration drama*. There are four main chapters, dealing respectively with "The Theatre," "Tragedy," "Comedy," and "Miscellaneous forms of drama," and three appendices, the last of which contains an invaluable "Hand-list of plays, 1700-1750" (pp. 293-407).

Nicoll, Allardyce. "The rights of Beeston and D'Avenant in Elizabethan plays." *RES*, I (1925), 84-91.

Cf. reply by Hazelton Spencer, *ibid.*, I, 443-46.

Perry, Henry Ten Eyck. *The comic spirit in Restoration drama.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925.

Rev. by F. W. Chandler in *MLN*, XLI (1926), 408-09; by J. Isaacs in *RES*, II (1926), 108-09.

Potter, George R. "Coleridge and the idea of evolution." *PMLA*, XL (1925), 379-97.

Valuable to students of the eighteenth century for the incidental light it throws on the transition from a mechanistic to an organic conception of nature.

Praz, Mario. "Stanley, Sherburne and Ayres as translators and imitators of Italian, Spanish and French poets." *MLR*, XX (1925), 280-94, 419-31.

"The Prelude to romanticism." *TLS*, Aug. 13, 1925, pp. 525-26.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Prinsen, J. *De roman in de 18e eeuw in West-Europa.* Groningen: Wolters, 1925.

Rev. by P. Van Tieghem in *RSH*, XL (1925), 131-32.

Raleigh, Sir Walter. *Some authors, a collection of literary essays (1896-1916).* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925.

Contains essays on Dryden and political satire, the "battle of the books," Halifax, Burke, Burns, and Blake. The studies of Dryden and Burke are here printed for the first time.

Reed, Amy Louise. *The background of Gray's Elegy: a study in the taste for melancholy poetry, 1700-1751.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1924.

Rev. by Roger Martin in *RAA*, III (1925), 155-56; by C. A. Moore in *MLN*, XL (1925), 431-35.

Reichwein, Adolf. *China and Europe: intellectual and artistic contacts in the eighteenth century.* Translated by J. C. Powell. New York: Knopf, 1925.

Rev. by K. S. Latourette in *AHR*, XXXI (1925), 129-30.

Robertson, J. G. *The reconciliation of classic and romantic.* Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1925. ("Publications of the Modern Humanities Research Association," No. 8.)

Rev. by P. Van Tieghem in *RSH*, XL (1925), 117-19.

One of the least helpful of the many recent attempts to reinterpret the relations of classicism and romanticism. It abounds in contradictory statements, as when we are told on a single page first that "The essential criterion of Classicism may . . . . be narrowed down to dependence on the Latin ideals of a definite age" and second that "the spiritual essence of Classicism in literature is not imitation of the ancients, although this may be its outward form, but the avoidance of the immediate poetic expression of an experience" (p. 10). It is full of such dubious and sterile generalizations as the following: "It seems to me that all Romantic manifestations . . . are, in their ultimate elements, products of inter-racial fertilisation. . . . On the other hand, Classicism is nurtured, or, at least, not hampered, by inbreeding and by the absence of extraneous fertilising elements" (pp. 12-13). But the most striking example of Robertson's confused and essentially unhistorical thinking is his comment on the notion of a "return to nature" (p. 6). At a time when we are coming to realize more and more clearly the profound differences in philosophical outlook which separated the "nature" of Wordsworth (for example) from that of Boileau or Pope, it is disconcerting to find a scholar of Robertson's reputation naïvely assuming an identity of meaning. "Look again," he writes, "at the pioneers of the great age—the greatest age—of Classicism in modern Europe, the French seventeenth century. The initiators of that brilliant age were men who insisted that literature must return to nature and reality—a demand which, again, corresponds to that made by the heralds of every Romantic age. The movement of the seventeenth century is, in its inception at least, quite as Romantic as that of 1828."

Smith, Logan Pearsall. *Words and idioms.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1925.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Contains an essay on "Four romantic words" (*romantic, originality, creative, genius*).

Spencer, Hazelton. "The Restoration play lists." *RES*, I (1925), 443-46.

A criticism of Allardyce Nicoll's article, *ibid.*, I, 84-91.

Studies in the history of ideas. Volume II. Edited by the Department of Philosophy, Columbia University. New York: Columbia University Press, 1925.

Contains essays on Descartes, Malebranche, and Hume.

Van Tieghem, Paul. *Précis d'histoire littéraire de l'Europe depuis la Renaissance.* Paris: Alcan, 1925.

Rev. by F. Baldensperger in *RLC*, VI (1926), 159-62; by G. Rudler in the *French quarterly*, VIII (1926), 66-67.

Written primarily for beginners in literary history and for general readers, this little book deserves to be mentioned here if only because of the novelty of its method. It is, I believe, the first general survey of modern European literature which has had the courage to abandon the traditional organization by countries and to attempt a grouping of facts calculated to bring into relief the traits common to the literatures of all Europe in a given period. The *cadres* chosen are in the main, though not exclusively, literary genres. Thus the section on the "âge classique" includes, after a few pages of generalities, chapters on tragedy, comedy, non-dramatic poetry, prose (theologians, moralists, essayists), the "mouvement philosophique," the novel in the eighteenth century, and the "préromantiques." The volume may be heartily recommended to American graduate students, many of whom could profit from such a rearrangement of perspectives.

Van Tieghem, Paul. *Le préromantisme: études d'histoire littéraire européenne.* Paris: Rieder, 1924.

Rev. by G. Ascoli in *RSH*, XXXIX (1925), 154-55; by F. Baldensperger in *RLC*, VI (1926), 159-62; by L. Cazamian in *RAA*, II (1925), 461-63; by J. G. Robertson in *MLR*, XX (1925), 482-83; by G. Toffanin in *Litteris*, II (1925), 131-41.

This volume contains three studies: "La notion de vraie poésie dans le Préromantisme européen," "La découverte de la mythologie et de l'ancienne poésie scandinave," and "Ossian et l'Ossianisme au XVIII[e] siècle." All three of them have appeared in print before; but, to say nothing of the fact that they have been retouched in various places, it is good to have them assembled in a single volume. For they are models of a type of study of which we have had all too few examples and of which Van Tieghem, in these and other similar monographs published during the last few years, has approved himself a master. The conception of "littérature générale" which underlies their construction is set forth briefly but persuasively in the Preface, which contains, among other things, some excellent remarks on the relation between analysis and synthesis in literary history: "On ne peut attendre, pour tenter une synthèse partielle, que le travail d'analyse soit terminé: il ne le sera jamais. La synthèse doit se construire progressivement, et parallèlement à l'analyse dont elle utilise au fur et à mesure les résultats" (p. 13). Of the three monographs, the first is possibly the least satisfying. It is, for one thing, too brief for the enormous complexity of its subject; but in addition Van Tieghem seems to me to miss certain fundamental aspects of the change in literary theory which he is tracing, through insufficient attention both to the seventeenth-century background and to the concurrent

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

changes in philosophical outlook. He is much more successful in the two other studies, both of which—and the second in particular—are admirably clear and well-informed syntheses.

Vaughan, C. E. *Studies in the history of political philosophy before and after Rousseau.* Edited by A. G. Little. Manchester: University Press, 1925. 2 vols.

Rev. by C. D. B. in *International journal of ethics,* XXXVI (1925), 107; by A. H. Lloyd in *AHR,* XXXI (1926), 776-78; by H. W. Schneider in *Journal of philosophy,* XXIII (1926), 155-56.

Contains studies of Hobbes, Spinoza, Locke, Vico, Montesquieu, Hume, and Burke.

Walker, Hugh. *English satire and satirists.* London: J. M. Dent; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1925.

Rev. by A. Digeon in *RAA,* III (1926), 362-63; in *TLS,* Dec. 10, 1925, p. 854.

Whitehead, Alfred North. *Science and the modern world.* New York: Macmillan, 1925.

Suggestive chapters on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Williams, S. T. "The English sentimental drama from Steele to Cumberland." *Sewanee review,* XXXIII (1925), 405-26.

III. STUDIES OF AUTHORS

Joseph Addison

Beatty, Joseph M., Jr. "Joseph Addison's ancestry." *N & Q,* CXLIX (1925), 459.

Mark Akenside

Chapman, R. W. "A note on the first edition of *The Pleasures of imagination.*" *RES,* I (1925), 346-48.

Christopher Anstey

Williams, Iolo A. [Bibliography of the first editions of Anstey.] *London mercury,* XI (1925), 300-02, 414-17, 526-28, 643-44; XII (1925), 194, 300-01.

John Arbuthnot

The History of John Bull. For the first time faithfully re-issued from the original pamphlets, 1712, together with an investigation into its composition, publication, and authorship by H. Teerink. Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1925.

Richard Baxter

The Autobiography of Richard Baxter, being the Reliquiae Baxterianae abridged from the folio (1696). Edited by J. M. Lloyd Thomas. London: J. M. Dent; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1925.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Rev. by Walther Fischer in *Beiblatt*, XXXVII (1926), 36-38; in *TLS*, Dec. 17, 1925, p. 887.

Chapters from Richard Baxter's Christian directory. Selected by Jeannette Tawney. London: Bell, 1925.

Rev. by K. N. Bell in *History*, X (1925), 264.

An attempt to illustrate the economic ideas of a seventeenth-century Puritan.

George Berkeley

Metz, Rudolf. *George Berkeley: Leben und Lehre.* Stuttgart: Frommanns Verlag, 1925.

Hugh Blair

Cowling, G. H. "The English teaching of Dr. Hugh Blair." *Anglica*, II (1925), 281-94.

William Blake

The Writings of William Blake. Edited by Geoffrey Keynes. London: The Nonesuch Press, 1925. 3 vols.

Rev. by P. Berger in *Les langues modernes*, XXIII (1925), 575-76; by S. C. Chew in the *Nation*, June 2, 1926, pp. 611-12; by Thomas Wright in the *New Statesman*, Aug. 22, 1925, pp. 527-28; in *TLS*, Oct. 8, 1925, pp. 645-46.

The first complete scholarly edition.

Bruce, Harold. "William Blake in a brown coat." *TLS*, Aug. 27, 1925, p. 557.

Bruce, Harold. *William Blake in this world.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and co., 1925.

Figgis, Darrell. *The paintings of William Blake.* London: Ernest Benn, 1925.

Rev. in *TLS*, Dec. 3, 1925, p. 827. Cf. *ibid.*, Dec. 17, 1925, p. 883, for comment by Geoffrey Keynes, who questions the authenticity of two plates.

Mabbott, T. O. "Blake's designs for Blair's *Grave*: American edition." *N & Q*, CXLVIII (1925), 98.

Plowman, Max. "Blake and Hayley." *TLS*, April 30, 1925, p. 300.

Plowman, Max. "The incomplete 'Marriage of heaven and hell.'" *TLS*, Oct. 22, 1925, p. 698.

Gives reasons for thinking *A song of liberty* an integral part of *The marriage of heaven and hell.*

Redgrove, H. Stanley. "Blake and Swedenborg." *New-Church magazine*, Jan., 1925.

Saurat, Denis. "Blake et les Celtomanes." *MP*, XXIII (1925), 175-88.

An interpretation of the primitive British history in Blake's *Jerusalem* and *Descriptive catalogue* in the light of eighteenth-century theories about the Celts from Pezron and Stukeley to Williams and Davies. A very import-

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ant article, in which, for almost the first time, the problem of Blake's thought is approached in a really historical spirit, quite free from the uncritical enthusiasm which down to the present has vitiated most writing on the subject. Saurat has in preparation other studies of a similar character, which, if we may judge from the present sample of his method, should go far toward replacing Blake in his proper eighteenth-century milieu.

Short, Ernest H. *Blake.* London: Philip Allen, 1925. ("British Artists series.")

James Boswell

Boswell's note book, 1776-1777, now first published from the unique original in the collection of R. B. Adam, Esq. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1925.

Rev. by A. Dupuis in *RAA,* III (1925), 156; by R. D. Havens in *MLN,* XL (1925), 518.

"Boswell's letters." *TLS,* Jan. 15, 1925, pp. 29-30.

Leading article suggested by C. B. Tinker's edition (1924).

Chapman, R. W. [Note on a cancel in Boswell's *Hebrides.*] *Bodleian quarterly record,* IV (1925), 257.

Pottle, Frederick A. "Boswellian myths." *N & Q,* CXLIX (1925), 4-6.

Pottle, Frederick A. "Boswellian notes." *N & Q,* CXLIX (1925), 113-14.

Pottle, Frederick A. "Boswell's 'Miss W—— T.'" *N & Q,* CXLVIII (1925), 80.

Pottle, Frederick A. "Boswell's 'Observations on *The Minor.*'" *Bulletin of the New York Public Library,* XXIX (1925), 3-6.

Pottle, Frederick A. "Bozzy and Yorick." *Blackwood's magazine,* CCXVII (1925), 297-313.

Interesting evidence of a meeting between the two in 1760, with sidelights on Boswell's admiration for Sterne.

Pottle, Frederick A. "'Bozzy' was a bold young blade: the story of his Lady Mackintosh episode based upon unpublished material." *New York Times Book review,* Aug. 23, 1925, pp. 1, 13.

Pottle, Frederick A. "The incredible Boswell." *Blackwood's magazine,* CCXVIII (1925), 149-65.

An account of Boswell's contributions to the *London chronicle* especially between 1767 and 1775, based on Boswell's annotated file of that newspaper now in the Yale Library. A very amusing supplement to Tinker's *Young Boswell.*

Pottle, Frederick A. "James Boswell the younger." *N & Q,* CXLIX (1925), 49.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Henry Brooke

C[hapman], R. W. "Brooke's *Gustavus Vasa.*" *RES,* I (1925), 460-61.

On a copy containing the list of subscribers, among whom were Chesterfield, Johnson, and Swift.

Edmund Burke

Pottle, Frederick A. [Query as to the date of the first edition of Burke's *Sublime and beautiful.*] *N & Q,* CXLVIII (1925), 80.

Replies by Edward Bensly and Theodore Prince, *ibid.,* p. 140.

Tomlinson, F. W. "Burke and the Revolution." *TLS,* Dec. 10, 1925, p. 862.

Announcement of a study in preparation on this subject.

Fanny Burney

Morley, Edith J. *Fanny Burney.* English Association pamphlet, No. 60 (April, 1925).

The essay itself is of little value, but an appendix contains four inedited letters between Miss Burney and Mrs. Thrale, printed from the originals in Dr. Williams's Library.

Robert Burns

Wilson, Sir James. *Scottish poems of Robert Burns in his native dialect.* London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1925.

Rev. by F. Mossé in *Les langues modernes,* XXIII (1925), 266-68.

Mary Chandler

Doughty, Oswald. "A Bath poetess of the eighteenth century." *RES,* I (1925), 404-20.

An essay on Mary Chandler (1687-1745) which should have been published in the *London mercury.* The author informs us (p. 412) that lines 267-80 of the first epistle of the *Essay on Man* were indebted to one of her poems, but he does not think it necessary to name the poem or to offer any evidence for his assertion!

Thomas Chatterton

Meyerstein, E. H. W. "Chatterton, a correction." *TLS,* July 16, 1925, p. 480.

A correction of a note in *TLS* for July 21, 1921.

Meyerstein, E. H. W. "Lydgate and Chatterton." *TLS,* April 16, 1925, p. 268.

Chesterfield

Coxon, Roger. *Chesterfield and his critics.* London: G. Routledge & sons, 1925.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Rev. by P. Yvon in *Les langues modernes,* XXIV (1926), 156-59; in *TLS,* May 14, 1925, p. 331.
Contains hitherto unpublished personal letters.

Colley Cibber

An Apology for the life of Colley Cibber . . . . written by himself. Waltham St. Lawrence, Twyford: Golden Cockerel Press, 1925.

Bateson, F. W. "*The Double gallant* of Colley Cibber." *RES,* I (1925), 343-46.
A study of the sources.

Mary Collyer

Hughes, Helen Sard. "The life and works of Mary Mitchell Collyer." *University of Chicago Abstracts of theses,* Humanistic series, I (1925), 391-94.

William Congreve

Comedies by William Congreve. Edited, with introduction and notes, by Bonamy Dobrée. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, [1925]. ("The World's Classics.")
A convenient new edition, containing the four comedies (in the text of the 1710 edition) and the essay "Concerning humour in comedy." The editor's contribution consists of a few explanatory notes, a list of the more important dates in Congreve's life, and a brief introduction on Restoration comedy in general and on Congreve's prose style.

William Cowper

The Unpublished and uncollected letters of William Cowper. Edited by Thomas Wright. London: C. J. Farncombe, 1925.
Rev. in the *New Statesman,* July 25, 1925, pp. 424-25.

Richard Cumberland

Landa, M. J. "The grandfather of melodrama." *Cornhill magazine,* N. S., LIX (1925), 476-84.

Sir William Davenant

Spencer, Hazelton. "D'Avenant's *Macbeth* and Shakespeare's." *PMLA,* XL (1925), 619-44.

Daniel Defoe

Brandl, Leopold. "Krinke Kesmes und Defoes *Robinson.*" *Neophilologus,* XI (1925), 28-40.

Dottin, Paul. *Daniel De Foe et ses romans.* Paris: Presses universitaires, 1924. 3 vols.
Rev. by R. S. C[rane] in *MP,* XXIII (1925), 231-32; by Oliver Elton in the *French quarterly,* VII (1925), 89-92; by E. Pons in *RELV,* XLII (1925), 220-22; by Hermann Ullrich in *ES,* LX (1926), 364-69.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Dottin, Paul. *Vie et aventures de Daniel De Foe, auteur de Robinson Crusoé.* Paris: Perrin, 1925.

Rev. by Camille Cé in *RELV*, XLIII (1926), 166-67; by H. Servajean in *RAA*, III (1926), 256-57.

A condensation of the preceding work.

Gudde, Erwin Gustav. "Grimmelshausen's *Simplicius Simplicissimus* and Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe.*" *PQ*, IV (1925), 110-20.

Gückel, W. and E. Günther. *D. Defoes und J. Swifts Belesenheit und literarische Kritik.* Leipzig: Meyer & Müller, 1925.

Rev. by S. B. Liljegren in *Beiblatt*, XXXVII (1925), 134-35.

Useful so far as it goes, but very incomplete on Defoe: the compilers have restricted themselves, for the most part, to works accessible in modern editions (only a small portion of the *Review*, for example, has been examined).

Hutchins, Henry Clinton. *Robinson Crusoe and its printing, 1719-1731: a bibliographical study.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1925.

Rev. by Harold Williams in the *Library Association record*, N.S., IV (1926), 24-25; in *TLS*, Oct. 22, 1925, p. 695.

An important bibliographical investigation, which only collectors, unfortunately, can afford to buy. The substance of the book consists of a minute and painstaking examination of the English editions of *Robinson Crusoe* published in Defoe's lifetime. The first chapter contains some brief and rather rambling remarks on printing conditions in England, 1700-1725; and there is an interesting discussion (pp. 56-61) of the meaning of the terms "edition" and "issue," though it is doubtful whether the use of the latter term in the analysis of the third and fourth editions (pp. 88-96) will appeal to scholars who are primarily concerned with textual criticism rather than with descriptive bibliography.

Parker, George. "The allegory of *Robinson Crusoe.*" *History*, X (1925), 11-25.

A fantastic elaboration of the old theory that *Robinson Crusoe*, Part I, was intended by Defoe as an allegorical history of his own career. The writer argues, evidently with entire seriousness, that "Crusoe's tame goats are his [Defoe's] publications, that the footprint in the sand represents the *Shortest way with the dissenters*, and that the "enclosure in the woods for his [Crusoe's] goats seems to be the *Review.*" Etc., etc.

Secord, Arthur Wellesley. *Studies in the narrative method of Defoe.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1924.

Rev. by Paul Dottin in *RAA*, II (1925), 444-45; by S. B. Liljegren in *Beiblatt*, XXXVI (1925), 340-43; by H. Ullrich in *ES*, LIX (1925), 457-67.

Ullrich, Hermann. *Defoes Robinson Crusoe: die Geschichte eines Weltbuches.* Leipzig: Reisland, 1924.

Rev. by Paul Dottin in *RAA*, III (1925), 153-54; by Walther Fischer in *Beiblatt*, XXXVI (1925), 133-35; by H. Schöffler in *ES*, LIX (1925), 452-57.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

John Dryden

MacFlecknoe, 1682. [Reproduced in type-facsimile.] London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1925.

Bondurant, A. L. "The *Amphitruo* of Plautus, Molière's *Amphitryon*, and the *Amphitryon* of Dryden." *Sewanee review*, XXXIII (1925), 455-68.

Eliot, T. S. *Homage to John Dryden: three essays on poetry of the seventeenth century.* London: Hogarth Press, 1925.

Rev. by John Freeman in the *London mercury*, XI (1925), 663-64; by Edwin Muir in the *Calendar of modern letters*, I (1925), 242-44.

Ellis, Amanda M. "Horace's influence on Dryden." *PQ*, IV (1925), 39-60.

Emerson, Oliver Farrar. "Dryden and the English Academy." *MLR*, XX (1925), 189-90.

Comment on an article by E. Freeman, *ibid.*, XIX (1924), 291-300.

Havens, Raymond D. "Dryden's visit to Milton." *RES*, I (1925), 348-49.

Low, D. M. "An error in Dryden." *TLS*, April 30, 1925, p. 300.

On *Theodore and Honoria*, l. 58.

Lubbock, Alan. *The character of John Dryden.* London: Hogarth Press, 1925.

Rev. in the *Calendar of modern letters*, I (1925), 488; in *TLS*, July 9, 1925, p. 460.

Lynch, Kathleen M. "D'Urfé's *L'Astrée* and the 'proviso' scenes in Dryden's comedy." *PQ*, IV (1925), 302-08.

Smith, John Harrington. "Dryden's critical temper." *Washington University studies*, Vol. XII, Humanistic series, No. 2, 1925, pp. 201-20.

Thorn-Drury, G. "Some notes on Dryden." *RES*, I (1925), 79-83, 187-97, 324-30.

The most important notes are those on Dryden and Milton (pp. 80-81; cf. the note by R. D. Havens, pp. 348-49), on Dryden and Shadwell (pp. 187-92), on the popularity of the Absalom and Achitophel theme before Dryden (pp. 326-27), and on "Dryden and the opera on *The Tempest*" (pp. 327-30).

John Dunton

Moore, C. A. "John Dunton, pietist and impostor." *SP*, XXII (1925), 467-99.

An interesting study of the treatises on death published by Dunton between 1682 and 1704, in which Moore finds "an important link of connection between the poets of death in the pre-Restoration period and their grave-yard successors in the eighteenth century." The article is less significant for the new light it throws on the career and publishing practices of Dunton than

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

for the vivid glimpse it affords into the still little-known world of lower middle-class pietism out of which proceeded so many important impulses during the next hundred years.

Elizabeth Elstob

Ashdown, Margaret. "Elizabeth Elstob, the learned Saxonist." *MLR*, XX (1925), 125-26.

John Evelyn

Squire, W. Barclay. "Evelyn and music." *TLS*, May 14, 1925, p. 333; Dec. 10, 1925, p. 857.

Cf. *ibid.*, May 28, 1925, p. 368.

Robert Fergusson

Fergusson, Robert. *Scots poems.* Reprinted from the *Weekly magazine* and the editions of 1773 and 1779. London: Porpoise Press, 1925.

Henry Fielding

Blanchard, Frederic T. *Fielding the novelist: a study of the novelist's fame and influence.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925.

Digeon, A. *The novels of Fielding.* London: Routledge; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1925.

Rev. by W. L. Cross in *SRL*, July 18, 1925, pp. 905-06; by R. M. Lovett in the *New republic*, Aug. 26, 1925, pp. 22-23.

A translation of the author's *Les romans de Fielding* (1923). Digeon writes of Fielding primarily as a literary critic—an excellent critic, be it said, with a rare gift of subtle and penetrating analysis and a genuine sympathy for an author whom we are accustomed to look upon as peculiarly English in both his qualities and limitations. Yet he does not entirely neglect the historical aspects of his subject. No one, for example, has defined more clearly, in relation to the general movement of English taste in the mid-eighteenth century, the transformation in feeling and attitude which led from the parody and humor of *Joseph Andrews* and the irony of *Jonathan Wild* to the moralized sentiment of *Amelia*. On one or two points his conclusions seem open to question. He does not, for example, give sufficient emphasis to what may be called the Mandevillian element in Fielding's conception of human nature—an element that plays a curiously paradoxical rôle throughout the series of novels and accounts in part at least for the intensified religious atmosphere in *Amelia*. Nor can we subscribe to his theory that at some time between 1743 and 1751 Fielding underwent a "conversion" from Deism to Christianity. There can be no doubt that the religious note is more prominent in the later writings, but an examination of such texts as the papers in the *Champion* for Jan. 22 and March 27, 1740, or the essay "On the loss of our friends," is sufficient to dispose of the notion that Fielding, at that early stage of his career, was in any sense sympathetic toward Deism.

Jensen, Gerard E. "*An address to the electors of Great Britain* .... possibly a Fielding tract." *MLN*, XL (1925), 57-58.

Stonehill, Charles. "Fielding's *The Miser*." *TLS*, Oct. 22, 1925, p. 698.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Thomas Flatman

T[h=orn]-D[rury], G. "St. Cecilia's day, 1686." *RES*, I (1925), 220.

Notes the existence of *A song for St. Cecilia's day, Nov. 22, 1686*, by Thomas Flatman.

Richard Flecknoe

The Life of Tomaso the wanderer: an attack upon Thomas Killigrew by Richard Flecknoe. Reprinted from the original of 1667. Edited by G. Thorn-Drurv. London: Dobell, 1925.

Rev. in *TLS*, Dec. 3, 1925, p. 829.

David Garrick

Three farces [The lying valet; A peep behind the curtain; Bon ton]. Edited by Louise B. Osborn. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1925.

Rev. by Paul Dottin in *EAA*, III (1925), 155.

Clark, Ruth. "D'Holbach et Garrick." *RLC*, V (1925), 671-73.

Text of a letter from d'Holbach to Garrick, April 20, 1765, written on the occasion of the latter's departure from Paris for London.

John Gay

Poems by John Gay. With an introduction by Francis Bickley. London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1925. ("Abbey classics.")

Edward Gibbon

Robertson, J. M. *Gibbon.* London: Watts, 1925.

Tronchon, Henri. "Gibbon en Hongrie: premières traces." *MLN*, XL (1925), 385-96.

Charles Gildon

T[horn]-D[rury], G. "*A comparison between the two stages . . .* 1702." *RES*, I (1925), 96.

Shows that the traditional ascription of this work to Gildon (accepted, for example, by Paul Dottin in his *Robinson Crusoe examin'd and criticis'd* [London and Paris, 1923], p. 50) cannot be correct.

Oliver Goldsmith

McKerrow, R. B. and I. A. Williams. [Notes on sheets L and M of the first edition of Goldsmith's *She stoops to conquer.*] *London mercury*, XI (1925), 302-03.

Cf. *ibid.*, XI (1924), 82-86.

Marcus, Hans. "Goldsmith über Deutschland." *Archiv*, CXLIX (1925-26), 1-32, 177-211.

Williams, Iolo A. [Note on the French translation of the *Vicar of Wakefield.*] *London mercury*, XIII (1925), 192.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Thomas Gray

Strachey, J. St. Loe. [On the *Ode on a distant prospect of Eton College.*] *New York Times Book review,* Mar. 1, 1925, p. 10.

Toynbee, Paget. "A Gray-Mason enigma solved." *TLS,* Sept. 17, 1925, p. 600.

Toynbee, Paget. "Gray's letters." *TLS,* Oct. 8, 1925, p. 656.

Announces that he is "engaged on an edition of the correspondence of Gray, based as far as possible on the original manuscripts, in which will be embodied the new letters published ten years ago in the 'Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West, and Ashton,' together with a few others not included in Mr. Tovey's edition, and as many as can be traced of the letters written to Gray."

Whibley, Leonard. "A correction in Gray's letters." *TLS,* Oct. 1, 1925, p. 639.

James Harrington

James Harrington's Oceana. Edited with notes by S. B. Liljegren. Heidelberg: Winter, 1924.

Rev. by A. J. Carlyle in *EHR,* XLI (1926), 131-32; by F. Liebermann in *Archiv,* CXLVIII (1925), 116-18; by A. O. Lovejoy in *MLN,* XL (1925), 245-46.

The notes in this excellent edition are a treasure-house of facts and texts on the history of English ideas in the seventeenth century.

Liljegren, S. B. "Some notes on the name of James Harrington's *Oceana.*" *Probleme der englischen Sprache und Kultur: Festschrift für Johannes Hoops* (Heidelberg, 1925), pp. 231-49.

Very curious and interesting details on the diffusion of Utopian ideas in England on the eve of the Restoration. Supplements his edition, pp. 227-31.

Thomas Hobbes

Hönigswald, Richard. *Hobbes und die Staatsphilosophie.* Munich: Reinhardt, 1924.

Tonnies, F. *Thomas Hobbes: Leben und Lehre.* Stuttgart: Frommanns Verlag, 1925.

Thomas Holcroft

The Life of Thomas Holcroft. Written by himself, continued to the time of his death by William Hazlitt, and now newly edited by Elbridge Colby. London: Constable, 1925.

Rev. in *TLS,* Aug. 13, 1925, p. 531.

John Houghton

Fussell, G. E. "John Houghton, F. R. S. (b. 1640, d. 1705)." *N & Q,* CXLVIII (1925), 345-46.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

David Hume

Hendel, Charles W. *Studies in the philosophy of David Hume.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1925.

Rev. by S. P. Lamprecht in the *Journal of philosophy,* XXII (1925), 411-18.

Mure, B. G. "Some unpublished letters of David Hume." *Nineteenth century,* XCVIII (1925), 293-306.

Four letters to William Mure of Caldwell written between 1764 and 1769.

Samuel Johnson

Lives of the English poets. With introduction by L. Archer-Hind. London: J. M. Dent; New York: E. P. Dutton, [1925]. ("Everyman's Library.")

Selected letters of Samuel Johnson. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1925. ("The World's Classics.")

Introduction by R. W. Chapman. A few letters are included that were not in the Birkbeck Hill edition.

Johnson's *Prologue to Comus,* 1750. [Reproduced in type-facsimile.] London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1925.

Belloc, Hilaire. "Mrs. Piozzi's *Rasselas.*" *SRL,* Aug. 15, 1925, pp. 37-38.

Bloxsome, H. E. "Dr. Johnson and the medical profession." *Cornhill magazine,* N. S., LVIII (1925), 455-71.

Brémond, Henri, Jean, and André. *Le charme d'Athènes et autres essais.* Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1925.

Rev. by A Brulé in *BAA,* III (1926), 263-65.

Contains an essay by André Brémond on the religious element in Johnson's work and influence.

Chapman, R. W. "Johnson and the longitude." *RES,* I (1925), 458-60.

Chapman, R. W. "Johnson's letters." *TLS,* Oct. 1, 1925, p. 639.

Emendations in letters of Oct. 5, 1769 (to Taylor) and April 12, 1783 (to Reynolds).

Collison-Morley, L. "Dr. Johnson and the modern languages." *Cornhill magazine,* N.S., LIX (1925), 572-77.

Courtney, William Prideaux and David Nichol Smith. *A bibliography of Samuel Johnson.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925.

Rev. by A. W. Reed in *RES,* II (1926), 105-07; by I. A. Williams in *London mercury,* XII (1925), 298.

A reissue of the edition of 1915 with the welcome addition of thirty-eight facsimiles. These include, besides the titlepages of most of Johnson's publications, the very rare *Proposals* of 1745 (already reproduced by Karl Young in *University of Wisconsin studies,* No. 18 [1924], opposite p. 172),

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

the original state of the cancelled p. 48 of the *Journey to the Western Islands*, and the two lists of errata in the same work.

Evans, A. W. *A catalogue of books by or relating to Dr. Johnson & members of his circle, offered for sale by Elkin Matthews, Ltd.* London: Elkin Matthews, 1925.

Rev. in *New York Times Book review*, July 19, 1925, p. 18; in *TLS*, April 23, 1925, p. 288.

Forman, W. Courthope. "Dr. Johnson and Isaac Walton." *N & Q*, CXLIX (1925), 79, 80.

Cf. Edward Bensly, *ibid.*, p. 170.

Gennadius, Joannes. *Dr. Johnson and Homer.* London: Privately printed, 1925.

O'Brien, George. "Dr. Samuel Johnson as an economist." *Studies: an Irish quarterly review*, XIV (1925), 80-101.

Powys, A. R. "Dr. Johnson on a Thames bridge." *London mercury*, XIII (1925), 199.

Roscoe, E. S. "The friendship of Dr. Johnson and Windham." *National review*, July, 1925, pp. 767-74.

Rypins, Stanley. "Johnson's Dictionary reviewed by his contemporaries." *PQ*, IV (1925), 281-86.

Thomas Jordan

T[horn]-D[rury], G. "Jordan's *Money is an asse*, 1668." *RES*, I (1925), 219-20.

George Lord Lyttleton

Roberts, S. C. "An eighteenth-century gentleman." *London mercury*, XI (1925), 290-97.

James Macpherson

Fraser, G. M. "The truth about Macpherson's 'Ossian.'" *Quarterly review*, CCXLV (1925), 331-45.

Moore, John Robert. "Wordsworth's unacknowledged debt to Macpherson's *Ossian*." *PMLA*, XL (1925), 362-78.

Peers, E. Allison. "The influence of Ossian in Spain." *PQ*, IV (1925), 121-38.

Bernard Mandeville

The Fable of the bees: or private vices, publick benefits. By Bernard Mandeville. With a commentary critical, historical, and explanatory by F. B. Kaye. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. 2 vols.

Rev. by Ch. Bastide in *Revue critique*, XCII (1925), 299-300; by G. Binz in *Beiblatt*, XXXVI (1925), 270-74; by L. I. Bredvold in *JEGP*, XXIV (1925), 586-89; by L. Cazamian in *EAA*, II (1925), 441-42; by B. Croce

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

in *Critica*, XXIII (1925), 298-300; by Sir Edmund Gosse in the *Sunday Times*, Feb. 1, 1925; by E. Greenlaw in *MLN*, XLI (1926), 341-44; by H. J. L[aski] in the *Manchester Guardian*, Jan. 29, 1925; by R. M. Lovett in the *New Republic*, May 6, 1925, pp. 295-96; by R. B. McKerrow in the *Library*, 4th series, VI (1925), 109-11; by G. C. Moore-Smith in *MLR*, XX (1925), 474-76; by C. M. Perry in *International journal of ethics*, XXXVI (1926), 431-35; by A. W. Reed in *RES*, I (1925), 366-70; by J. M. Robertson in the *Literary guide*, April 1925, pp. 73-74; by S. P. Sherman in the *New York Herald-Tribune Books*, March 29, 1925.

After all the notice which this edition has received, it is unnecessary to dwell upon the contribution which it makes to our understanding of an important and undeservedly neglected writer. Two points, however, seem to me to have been given insufficient attention. One of these is the value of Kaye's introduction and notes for students whose interest is not primarily in Mandeville but in the general movement of ideas in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In calling attention to the current of moral and psychological analysis to which he gives, not altogether happily perhaps, the name of "anti-rationalism," Kaye has done pioneer work of the highest importance for the interpretation of this period. Thanks to his researches, a whole series of new studies is made possible on such writers as Butler, Dryden, Rochester, Wycherley, Steele, Swift, Pope, and Fielding, the general result of which should be to give us a fresh insight into an aspect of the eighteenth century which has been largely obscured hitherto by exaggerated assumptions concerning the predominance of rationalism in the classic age.

The other point is one of method. It is clear that Kaye has learned much from the brilliant school of historical editing which has arisen in France in recent years as a result of the example and stimulus of Lanson; it is clear also that he has profited from the active discussion of "bibliographical" methods which has been going on in England under the leadership of McKerrow, Chapman, and others. His edition deserves to take its place among the most distinguished products of these two schools. Nor is this all. In his chapter on Mandeville's "Background" (I, lxxvii-cxiii), he has given us one of the best models we have of a type of study which is bound to be increasingly prominent in future work on this period, and in his attempt (I, cxiv-cxlvi) to measure Mandeville's influence on later thought, he has treated a difficult and perhaps impossible subject with a prudence and ingenuity which cannot but be instructive.

Rogers, A. K. "The ethics of Mandeville." *International journal of ethics*, XXXVI (1925), 1-17.

A sympathetic, intelligent, and well-written interpretation, which can be read with profit even after Kaye's Introduction. Its weakness is its neglect of Mandeville's predecessors.

William Mason

Draper, John W. *William Mason: a study in eighteenth-century culture.* New York: New York University Press, 1924.

Rev. by B. V. Crawford in *PQ*, IV (1925), 382; by Roger Martin in *RAA*, III (1925), 75-77; by G. C. Moore-Smith in *MLR*, XX (1925), 476-78; by Edith J. Morley in *RES*, I (1925), 497-98; in *TLS*, March 12, 1925, p. 168.

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu

Melville, Lewis [pseud. for Lewis Benjamin]. *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu: her life and letters.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1925.

Rev. by P. Dottin in *RAA*, III (1926), 445-46.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Henry More

The Philosophical writings of Henry More. Edited with an introduction and notes by Flora Isabel Mackinnon. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1925.

Rev. by S. P. Lamprecht in the *Journal of philosophy*, XXIII (1926), 158-60.

Nicolson, Marjorie H. "The spirit world of Milton and More." *SP*, XXII (1925), 433-52.

The Earl of Orrery

Flood, W. H. Grattan [with comment by F. W. Payne]. "Orrery's *Black Prince.*" *RES*, I (1925), 341-43.

Payne, F. W. "The question of precedence between Dryden and the Earl of Orrery with regard to the English heroic play." *RES*, I (1925), 173-81.

Thomas Otway

Ham, Roswell G. "The portraits of Thomas Otway." *N & Q*, CXLIX (1925), 111-13.

Ham, Roswell G. "Thomas Otway, Rochester, and Mrs. Barry." *N & Q*, CXLIX (1925), 165-67.

Robert Paltock

The Life and adventures of Peter Wilkins. London: Dulau, 1925.

Rev. in *TLS*, May 7, 1925, p. 312.

Skinner, A. J. P. "The author of 'Peter Wilkins.'" *TLS*, May 14, 1925, p. 335.

Samuel Pepys

Dubreton, J. Lucas. *Samuel Pepys, a portrait in miniature.* New York: G. P. Putnam's sons, 1925.

Shipley, A. E. "Mr. Pepys as a man of science and President of the Royal Society." *Quarterly review*, CCXLV (1925), 219-37.

Tanner, J. R. *Mr. Pepys: an introduction to the Diary, together with a sketch of his later life.* London: G. Bell and sons, 1925.

Rev. by W. C. Abbott in *SEL*, Oct. 3, 1925, p. 172; by W. Fischer in *Beiblatt*, XXXVI (1925), 336-37; by G. Nigot in *RAA*, III (1925), 144-47. Probably the best short study of Pepys yet published.

Hester Lynch Piozzi

Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson, LL.D., during the last twenty years of his life. Edited by S. C. Roberts. Cambridge: University Press, 1925.

Rev. by R. W. Chapman in *RES*, I (1925), 372-73.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Piozzi marginalia, comprising some extracts from the manuscripts of Hester Lynch Piozzi and annotations from her books. Cambridge [Mass.]: Harvard University Press, 1925.

Rev. by R. W. Chapman in *EES*, II (1926), 356; by R. D. Havens in *MLN*, XLI (1926), 212.

Alexander Pope

Case, Arthur E. "The new poems by Pope." *London mercury*, XI (1925), 411-12.

Hillhouse, J. T. "Teresa Blount and 'Alexis.'" *MLN*, XL (1925), 88-91.

Shows, on the basis of an examination of the correspondence at Mapledurham, that the "Alexis" who corresponded with Teresa and Martha Blount in 1713 was not, as certain students of Pope have supposed, James Moore-Smythe, who was eleven years old in 1713, but one of the Moores of Fawley Court in Berkshire near Mapledurham. The importance of the letters as an explanation of Pope's later animosity to Moore-Smythe is thus destroyed.

Sherburn, George. [Review of R. H. Griffith, *Alexander Pope, a bibliography.*] *MP*, XXII (1925), 327-36.

Many additional items.

Strachey, Lytton. *Pope.* The Leslie Stephen lecture for 1925. Cambridge: University Press, 1925.

Rev. by A. Digeon in *RAA*, III (1925), 154; by A. W. Reed in *RES*, II (1926), 113-14.

Matthew Prior

Chapman, R. W. "A poem attributed to Prior." *RES*, I (1925), 92-93.

Concerns *An epistle from the Elector of Bavaria to the French King* (1706), which, on the basis of manuscript notes in an eighteenth-century copy, is attributed to one Stephen Clay.

Doughty, Oswald. "The poet of the 'familiar style.'" *English studies*, VII (1925), 5-10.

Firth, C. H. "Two poems attributed to Prior." *RES*, I (1925), 456-58.

The poems, both of which are printed in the Appendix to Waller's edition of Prior (II, 380-84, 408), are *A fable of a widow and her cat*, 1712 (three stanzas of which Firth shows are by Swift) and *When the cat's away the mice may play*, 1712 (a Whig piece and so certainly not by Prior).

Williams, Iolo A. [A note on Prior and Philip Ayres.] *London mercury*, XI (1925), 525-26.

Ann Radcliffe

Thompson, L. F. "Ann Radcliffe's knowledge of German." *MLR*, XX (1925), 190-91.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Samuel Richardson

Nairn, J. A. "Samuel Richardson and the Merchant Taylor's school." *N & Q*, CXLIX (1925), 421.

Price, Lawrence Marsden. "Richardson in the moral weeklies of Germany." *University of Wisconsin studies in language and literature*, No. 22 (1925), pp. 169-83.

Thomas Russell (see *Cuthbert Shaw*)

Thomas Shadwell

Walmsley, D. M. "New light on Thomas Shadwell." *TLS*, April 16, 1925, p. 268.

Cf. *ibid.*, May 7, 1925, p. 316 (Montague Summers); May 14, p. 335 (D. M. Walmsley); May 21, 1925, p. 352 (Montague Summers).

Walmsley, D. M. "Two songs ascribed to Thomas Shadwell." *RES*, I (1925), 350-52.

Cuthbert Shaw

The Poems of Cuthbert Shaw and Thomas Russell. Edited by Eric Partridge. London: Dulau, 1925.

Rev. by L. Cazamian in *RAA*, III (1926), 450; by R. D. Havens in *MLN*, XL (1925), 443; by I. A. Williams in *London mercury*, XII (1925), 640; in *TLS*, July 16, 1925, p. 476.

Williams, Iolo A. [Cuthbert Shaw's *The four farthing candles*, 1762.] *London mercury*, XII (1925), 640-42.

Description of a rare copy, unknown to Partridge, of Shaw's poetical attack on Churchill, Lloyd, Colman, and Shirley.

R. B. Sheridan

Rhodes, R. Crompton. "The early editions of Sheridan." *TLS*, Sept. 17, 24, 1925.

On the *Duenna* and the *School for scandal.*

Roberts, W. "Sheridan's *School for scandal.*" *TLS*, Oct. 15, 1925, p. 675.

On a surreptitious Dublin edition of 1786.

Adam Smith

Benians, E. A. "Adam Smith's project of an empire." *Cambridge historical journal*, I (1925), 248-83.

Davenport, H. J. and Glenn R. Morrow. "The ethics of the *Wealth of nations.*" *Philosophical review*, XXXIV (1925), 599-611.

Tobias George Smollett

The Expedition of Humphry Clinker. London: Humphrey Mil-

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ford, Oxford University Press, [1925]. ("The World's Classics.")

The Expedition of Humphry Clinker. Oxford: Blackwell, 1925. 2 vols. ("The Shakespeare Head edition of Smollett's novels," Vols, I and II.)

Based on the text of the two issues of the second edition of 1771, with occasional corrections from other editions.

The Works of Tobias Smollett. Edited by George Saintsbury. London: Navarre Society, 1925. 12 vols.

A reprint of an edition first issued in 1895.

Buck, Howard Swazey. *A study in Smollett, chiefly "Peregrine Pickle," with a complete collation of the first and second editions.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925.

Rev. by E. A. Baker in *RES*, II (1926), 360-63.

This study covers a well defined area of Smollett's life and work with admirable acuteness and thoroughness. Taking *Peregrine Pickle* as a starting-point, Buck brings to light again the fact that the revision for the second edition was made not in 1751 but in 1758, probably as a result of Smollett's reconciliation with Garrick. It should have been added that the author of an article on Smollett in the *Quarterly* (CIII [1858], 68-108) had already used a copy of the second edition and quoted from the Advertisement, though he erroneously implied that the date of the revision was 1757. This evidence, however, passed unnoticed, and Buck has made the point his own by working out the artistic and personal significance of Smollett's revisions. Chapter ii examines the scanty evidence concerning the interpolated "Memoirs of a lady of quality": Smollett, it appears, made the acquaintance of Lady Vane through a common friend, Daniel Mackercher, and was perhaps paid to insert her story in his novel; the lady herself seems to have written the "Memoirs," which were slightly revised by Shebbeare and by Smollett himself. Chapter iii studies the quarrels arising from the *Regicide*, and rewrites important parts of Smollett's life from 1740 to about 1760, by giving a closely knit statement of Smollett's relations with Fleetwood, Lacy, Quin, Garrick, Rich, Chesterfield, Lyttleton, and Fielding. The most striking results here are the convincing argument that Smollett returned from Jamaica about the end of 1742; the account of Quin's part in the rejection of the *Regicide* at Covent Garden; the analysis of Smollett's attacks on Garrick; the proof that Chesterfield, not Lyttleton, was the first patron of Smollett's play; and the demonstration that the feud with Fielding developed from the feud with Lyttleton. Buck's terse and vigorous style controls the material logically without obscuring the broad human interest of his subject. It is not too much to say that his book marks a new period in the study of an author whom modern scholarship his hitherto neglected.—A.D.McK.

"Tobias Smollett." *TLS*, Nov. 19, 1925, pp. 761-62.

Whitridge, Arnold. *Tobias Smollett: a study of his miscellaneous works.* Published by the author, [1925].

This monograph, the Introduction tells us, is a *Vorarbeit* for an extended critical biography of Smollett. It touches on the whole field of Smollett's life and writings exclusive of the novels, and gives an agreeably written but cursory survey of his work in poetry, history, drama, journalism, political controversy, and satire. Only in slight detail does it modify the available biographies and studies. A closer analysis of Smollett's relations with his

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

contemporaries and his manifold literary activities will have to be made before the biography can be profitably rewritten. For example, Miss Tupper's article (*PMLA*, XXXIX [1924], 325-42) on the "Belles lettres" papers in the *British magazine*, disproving Goldsmith's authorship and (though not so convincingly) claiming the essays for Smollett, probably appeared too late to be used by Whitridge, but supersedes his discussion of the *British magazine* (p. 54). Buck's work on the revision of *Peregrine Pickle* makes Whitridge's comments on Smollett's personal feuds inadequate. Interesting clues are suggested and then dropped: thus the letters from Smollett to Richardson, briefly noted on p. 48, might have been analyzed for the light they throw on Smollett's methods as a hack-writer. The analysis of the political satire in the *History and adventures of an atom* is valuable, but must be supplemented by the newly compiled key in the Shakespeare Head edition of Smollett's novels (Oxford, 1926). The accounts of obscure pamphlets, such as Shebbeare's *Occasional critic* and the anonymous *Battle of the reviews*, will be of considerable help to the student. There is no index! —A.D.McK.

Laurence Sterne

Cross, Wilbur L. *The life and times of Laurence Sterne.* A new edition. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1925. 2 vols.

Rev. by J. M. Turnbull in *BES*, II (1926), 356-60.

The first edition of this excellent biography appeared in 1909. In reissuing it now the author has subjected his text to a considerable revision in the light of recent discoveries, and has incorporated a good deal of new material, including a complete transcript of Sterne's Letter Book from the manuscript in the Morgan Library. Students of Sterne will be especially grateful for the admirable bibliography of Sterne's published works and manuscripts which closes the second volume.

DeFroe, A. *Laurence Sterne and his novels studied in the light of modern psychology.* Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1925.

Rev. by L. Cazamian in *RAA*, III (1926), 448-50; by B. Fehr in *Beiblatt*, XXXVI (1925), 289-94.

In seven chapters DeFroe studies "The instinctive basis of Sterne's mental constitution," "The working of the instincts on the imaginative plane," "Sterne's temper," "Sterne and religion," "The sentiments," "Pathological phenomena," and "Sterne's psyche as revealed in the novels." His method involves principally an application to Sterne of the analysis of instinct developed by MacDougall in his *Outline of psychology*. He is not unaware, however, of psycho-analysis, and in Chapter ii he makes somewhat free use, on certain points, of Elinor Glyn's *Philosophy of love!* As might be expected from this list of authorities, the result is a rather crude piece of work, the chief value of which lies in the abundance of psychologically significant texts which it brings conveniently together. There can be no question that Sterne lends himself in an unusual measure to psychological analysis, and DeFroe deserves our gratitude for directing attention to the possibilities of the subject. But a more subtle technique than his is necessary, and surely in such matters MacDougall is not the safest guide.

Fluchère, Henri. "Sterne documents." *TLS*, Feb. 12, 1925, p. 104.

Announces that he is engaged on a new study of Sterne.

Matthew Stevenson

T[horn]-D[rury], G. "Matthew Stevenson." *RES*, I (1925), 95.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Supplements and corrects the article in the *D.N.B.*

Jonathan Swift

Swift's Journal to Stella. Newly deciphered and edited by J. K. Moorhead. London: J. M. Dent; New York: E. P. Dutton, [1925]. ("Everyman's Library.")

Goulding, Sybil. *Swift en France.* Paris: Champion, 1924.

Rev. by E. Pons in *RAA*, II (1925), 348-50; by J. G. Robertson in *MLR*, XX (1925), 93; by G. Budler in the *French quarterly*, VIII (1926), 69-70; by A. Thibaudet in the *London mercury*, XI (1925), 532-34.

Gückel, W. and E. Günther. *D. Defoes und J. Swifts Belesenheit und literarische Kritik.* Leipzig: Meyer & Müller, 1925.

Much more nearly complete for Swift than for Defoe. A partial checking, however, reveals a number of errors and omissions. P. 96: The *Dialogues des morts* which Swift read in 1697 were Fontenelle's and not Fénelon's (the latter's collection did not begin to appear until 1699). P. 96: Reference should have been made here to another French work which Swift includes in his list of reading for 1697—"Œvres Melées 5 Vol.:" (see *A Tale of a tub*, ed. Guthkelch and Nichol Smith [Oxford, 1920], p. liv). This may be almost certainly identified as the *Œuvres meslées de Mr. De Saint-Evremont* (Paris: Claude Barbin, 1697). P. 97: It should not be asserted positively that the phrase "The moderns were much the more ancient of the two" came from Fontenelle's *Entretiens*: the idea was a commonplace throughout the seventeenth century.—The compilers refer to a number of modern studies of Swift's sources, but they seem to be ignorant of W. A. Eddy's *Gulliver's Travels, a critical study* (Princeton, 1923), which would have enabled them to add several items to their list, notably D'Ablancourt's continuation of Lucian and the works of Tom Brown.

James, M. R. "Swift's copy of Dampier." *TLS*, Feb. 26, 1925, p. 138.

Pons, Émile. *Swift: les années de jeunesse et le "Conte du tonneau."* Strasbourg: Istra; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1925.

Rev. by L. Cazamian in *RAA*, III (1925), 68-70; by R. S. C[rane] in *MP*, XXIII (1925), 232-33; by P. Dottin in *RELV*, XLII (1925), 361-62 (cf. *ibid.*, XLII, 298-307); by A. Koszul in *Les langues modernes*, XXIII (1925), 563-68; by Harold Williams in *RES*, I (1925), 487-92; in *RLC*, V (1925), 541-42.

"Swift's Journal to Stella." *TLS*, Sept. 24, 1925, pp. 605-06.

Williams, Harold. "The Motte editions of *Gulliver's Travels.*" *Library*, 4th series, VI (1925), 229-63.

James Thomson

Hirsch, André. "James Thomson: ses traducteurs et ses critiques en France." *RELV*, XLII (1925), 66-75, 105-12, 160-72.

Marcus, Hans. "Die Entstehung von 'Rule Britannia.' Ein Beitrag zur Psychologie der Engländer." *Beiblatt*, XXXVI (1925), 21-32, 54-64, 78-89, 155-59.

Rev. by Karl Brunner in *Archiv*, CXLIX (1925), 120-21.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Horace Walpole

Reminiscences written in 1788 for the amusement of Miss Mary and Miss Agnes Berry. Now printed in full from the original manuscript, with notes and index by Paget Toynbee. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1924.

Rev. in *EHR*, XL (1925), 637. Cf. Toynbee's note in *TLS*, Aug. 20, 1925, p. 545.

Pottle, Frederick A. "The part played by Horace Walpole in the quarrel between Rousseau and Hume." *PQ*, IV (1925), 351-63.

William Walsh

Arundell, Dennis. *"The Gordian knot untied."* *TLS*, June 4, 1925, p. 384.

Cf. *ibid.*, June 11, 1925, p. 400 (W. J. Lawrence and Felix White); June 18, 1925, p. 416 (Dennis Arundell).
Identification with *Trelooby* by Walsh, Congreve, and Vanbrugh.

Nathaniel Wanley

Martin, L. C. "A forgotten poet of the seventeenth century." *Essays and studies by members of the English Association*, XI (1925), 5-31.

Edward Ward

The London spy, compleat in eighteen parts. With an introduction by Ralph Straus. London: The Casanova Society, 1924.

Rev. in *TLS*, Feb. 5, 1925, p. 83.

John Wesley

Henderson, Bernard W. "John Wesley's last university sermon." *Cornhill magazine*, N.S., LVIII (1925), 93-100.

On his sermon at St. Mary's, August 24, 1744.

Simon, John S. *John Wesley and the advance of Methodism.* London: J. Alfred Sharp, 1925.

Rev. in *London quarterly review*, Jan., 1926, p. 127; in *TLS*, Oct. 1, 1925, p. 633.
Covers the years 1747-1756.

Arthur Young

Amery, G. D. *The writings of Arthur Young.* Royal Agricultural Society of England, 1925.

Edward Young

Ibershoff, C. H. "Bodmer and Young." *JEGP*, XXIV (1925), 211-18.

McKillop, Alan D. "Richardson, Young, and the *Conjectures.*" *MP*, XXII (1925), 391-404.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

A valuable study of the genesis of the *Conjectures on original composition* in the light of a hitherto neglected Young-Richardson correspondence published in the *Monthly magazine* between 1813 and 1819. McKillop makes clear for the first time the important rôle which Richardson played in the gradual elaboration of the *Conjectures* from 1756 to 1759. P. 403: Young's undated letter (No. CXXVI), quoted in note 3, followed, rather than preceded, Richardson's letter of May 29, 1759 (No. CXLVII), to which it was in part an answer.

IV. STUDIES RELATING TO THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

NOTE: In this and the following section I have attempted to list only those publications which seemed especially significant for the historian of English literature.

Beer, Max. *Social struggles and thought (1750-1860).* London: Leonard Parsons, 1925.

Rev. in *TLS,* Aug. 20, 1925, p. 538.
Volume IV of the author's well known *History of socialism.*

Bell, Walter George. *The great plague in London in 1665.* London: John Lane, 1924.

Rev. by J.G.S.C. in the *Dublin review,* CLXXVI (1925), 316-20; by C. L. Kingsford in *EHR,* XL (1925), 435-37; G. E. F. Stammers in *History,* X (1925), 65-66.
Important for students of Defoe.

Blair, D. O. Hunter and others. "James's powders." *N & Q,* CXLVIII (1925), 390-91, 412, 425-26, 448; CXLIX (1925), 11-12.

Bowden, Witt. *Industrial society in England towards the end of the eighteenth century.* New York: Macmillan, 1925.

Rev. by W. T. Laprade in *AHR,* XXX (1925), 808-09.

Brett-James, Norman G. "London traffic in the seventeenth century." *Nineteenth century,* XCVIII (1925), 728-40.

Broxap, Henry. *The later Non-jurors.* Cambridge: University Press, 1925.

Rev. in *TLS,* July 30, 1925, p. 504.

Chancellor, E. Beresford. *London pleasure haunts during four centuries.* London: Constable, 1925.

deCastro, J. Paul. "London coffee-houses in the eighteenth century." *N & Q,* CXLVIII (1925), 426.

On Robin's and the Garter coffee-houses.

Feiling, Keith. *A history of the Tory party, 1640-1714.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924.

Rev. by W. C. Abbott in *AHR,* XXX (1925), 355-56; by Wallace Notestein in *History,* XI (1926), 69-70; by Kenneth Pickthorn in the *London mercury,* XI (1925), 557-59; by G. M. Trevelyan in *EHR,* XL (1925), 132-34.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

An important study, which should be known to all students of the literary history of the period.

Feiling, Keith and F. R. D. Needham. "The journals of Edmund Warcup, 1676-84." *EHR*, XL (1925), 235-60.

New light on the activities of Shaftesbury.

Fordham, Sir Herbert George. *John Cary, engraver, map, chart, and print seller and globe-maker, 1754-1835: a bibliography with an introduction and biographical notes.* Cambridge: University Press, 1925.

Rev. by S. W. Wooldridge in *RES*, II (1926), 367-68.

Fordham, Sir Herbert George. "John Ogilby (1600-1676): his *Britannia*, and the British itineraries of the eighteenth century." *Library*, 4th series, VI (1925), 157-78.

Fordham, Sir Herbert George. "'Paterson's Roads.' Daniel Paterson, his maps and itineraries, 1738-1825." *Library*, 4th series, V (1925), 333-56.

George, M. Dorothy. *London life in the eighteenth century.* London: Kegan Paul; New York: Knopf, 1925.

Rev. by W. P. Hall in *AHR*, XXXI (1925), 127-28; by J. L. Hammond in the *New Statesman*, Mar. 21, 1925, pp. 693-94; by A. S. Turberville in *History*, X (1926), 345-46.

Deals mainly with life among the poorer classes. An important first-hand study.

Hoskins, H. L. "The overland route to India in the eighteenth century." *History*, IX (1925), 302-18.

Hotson, J. Leslie. "Bear gardens and bear-baiting during the Commonwealth." *PMLA*, XL (1925), 276-88.

Jeudwine, J. W. *Religion, commerce, liberty, 1683-1793.* London: Longmans, Green and co., 1925.

Cf. *TLS*, Nov. 19, 1925, p. 772.

Kelly, Francis M. and Randolph Schwabe. *Historic costume, 1490-1790.* London: Batsford, 1925.

Rev. in *TLS*, Nov. 26, 1925, p. 782.

"Life in the eighteenth century." *TLS*, April 30, 1925, pp. 289-90.

Apropos of books by Witt Bowden and M. Dorothy George.

Machen, Arthur. *The Canning wonder.* London: Chatto and Windus, 1925.

Rev. by A. Digeon in *RAA*, III (1926), 446-47; in *TLS*, Nov. 26, 1925, p. 791.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Magrath, John R. "Oxford in the eighteenth century." *N & Q*, CXLVIII (1925), 263-64.
On certain public exercises required of candidates for the B.A.

Mallet, Sir Charles Edward. *A history of the University of Oxford.* Volume II: *The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.* London and New York: Longmans, Green and co., 1924.
Rev. by R. B. Merriman in *AHR*, XXXI (1925), 109-11; by C. Oman in *Edinburgh review*, CCXLI (1925), 103-15.

Moffit, Louis W. *England on the eve of the Industrial Revolution: a study of economic and social conditions from 1740 to 1760, with special reference to Lancashire.* London: P. S. King, 1925.
Rev. by Henri Sée in *RH*, CLII (1926), 93-94; in *TLS*, Dec. 10, 1925, pp. 841-42.

Newton, Lady. *Lyme letters, 1660-1760.* London: Heinemann, 1925.
Rev. in *TLS*, Nov. 12, 1925, p. 753.

Parkes, Joan. *Travel in England in the seventeenth century.* London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1925.

Rose, J. Holland. *A short life of William Pitt.* London: Bell, 1925.
Rev. by G. B. H. in *EHR*, XLI (1926), 312.

Sée, Henri. "Le grand commerce maritime et le système colonial dans leurs relations avec l'évolution du capitalisme (du XVI^e^ au XIX^e^ siècle)." *RSH*, XXXIX (1925), 15-35.

Sée, Henri. "L'évolution du capitalisme en Angleterre du XV^e^ siècle au commencement du XIX^e^." *RSH*, XL (1925), 31-49.

Stokes, Hugh. *Thomas Gainsborough.* London: Philip Allan, 1925.
Rev. in *TLS*, Dec. 3, 1925, p. 836.

The Diary of Thomas Turner, of East Hoathly, 1754-1765. Edited by Florence Maris Turner (Mrs. Charles Lamb). With an introduction by J. B. Priestley. London: John Lane, 1925.
Rev. in *TLS*, Nov. 12, 1925, p. 751.
Contains interesting notes on the reading of a Sussex shopkeeper in the mid-eighteenth century.

Vaucher, Paul. *La crise du Ministère Walpole en 1733-1744.* Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1924.
Rev. by W. T. Morgan in *AHR*, XXXI (1926), 515-17.

Vaucher, Paul. *Robert Walpole et la politique de Fleury, 1731-1742.* Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1924.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Rev. by Richard Lodge in *EHR*, XL (1925), 438-41; by W. T. Morgan in *AHR*, XXXI (1926), 515-17; by Eugène Welvert in *Revue critique*, XCII (1925), 413-15; in *TLS*, July 2, 1925, p. 439.

Verney, Frances Parthenope and Margaret M. *Memoirs of the Verney family during the seventeenth century.* 3rd edition. London: Longmans, Green and co., 1925.

Rev. by W. C. Abbott in *AHR*, XXXI (1925), 571-72.

Wainewright, J. B. "Suicides in England, XVIII century." *N & Q*, CXLVIII (1925), 87.

V. STUDIES RELATING TO THE CONTINENTAL BACKGROUND

Ascoli, Georges. "Le 'Misanthrope' de Molière et la sagesse libertine." *Revue universitaire*, XXXIV (1925), 229-34.

Ascoli, Georges. "Revue de quelques ouvrages récents relatifs à la littérature française." *RSH*, XXXIX (1925), 127-64.

An important review. Pp. 144-55 deal with works on the eighteenth century.

Ascoli, Georges. "Voltaire." *RCC*, XXV[1] (1923-24), 673-87; XXV[2] (1924), 16-27, 128-44, 275-87, 302-15, 417-28, 616-30; XXVI[1] (1924-25), 262-73, 501-14, 703-21; XXVI[2] (1925), 153-67, 373-84, 619-39.

This series of articles constitutes a thorough, an intelligent, and an impartial study of Voltaire's life and work. Without adding much that can exactly be called new, it represents a sound and very valuable *mise au point* of the old. Special attention should be paid to the first two articles, "Les années de formation" and "L'état d'esprit philosophique de Voltaire avant le séjour en Angleterre." In order to determine Voltaire's thought before the English journey of 1726 and in that way to be able to estimate more accurately the extent of the English influence upon him, Ascoli has studied carefully Voltaire's early poems, the 1723 edition of *La Ligue* (later *La Henriade*), and *Le pour et le contre* (known also as *L'Epître à Julie* and *L'Epître à Uranie*). In regard to the English influence, without attempting a detailed study of the relation of individual authors to Voltaire's thought, Ascoli takes a sane position about mid-way between the two extremes of Morley on the one hand and of Brunetière on the other. Since the earliest extant text of *Le pour et le contre* dates, however, from as late as 1738, or at the very earliest from 1732, conclusions based upon it regarding Voltaire's theology before 1726 must remain strictly hypothetical. Ascoli's appreciations of Voltaire's "Œuvre poétique" and particularly of "L'art du conteur" are also especially worthy of note in a series of which *tout est à lire.* —G. R. H.

Atkinson, Geoffrey. *Les relations de voyages du XVII[e] siècle et l'évolution des idées: contribution à l'étude de la formation de l'esprit du XVIII[e] siècle.* Paris: Champion, 1925.

Rev. by G. Ascoli in *RSH*, XXXIX (1925), 144-46; by P. Dottin in *RAA*, III (1926), 443-44; by A. H. Nethercot in *MP*, XXIII (1925), 242-43; in *TLS*, Nov. 5, 1925, p. 732.

This interesting little book is a by-product of its author's recent investigations in the history of the "extraordinary voyage" in French literature of

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Atkinson has extracted from the "real" travel narratives of the seventeenth century a considerable number of texts in which it is possible to see anticipations of eighteenth-century thought on such matters as the "noble savage," the "philosophical Chinese," political liberalism, Deism, relativism, the idea of progress, and the like. His range of documentation is not very great, and a good many of the sources he uses had already been exploited, from a similar point of view, by Chinard and others. But it is useful to have the question treated as a whole, and Atkinson's volume, commendably modest in its pretensions but intelligently conceived and written, can be read with profit by all students of the eighteenth century. A parallel study of English travel literature during the same period is in preparation.

Bellessort, André. *Essai sur Voltaire. Cours professé à la société des conférences.* Paris: Perrin, 1925.

Rev. by Henri Sée in *EH,* CLI (1926), 266.

Bira, C. *La croyance à la magie au XVIII^e siècle en France, dans les contes, romans et traités.* Paris: J. Gamber, 1925.

Brou, A. *Le dix-huitième siècle littéraire.* II: *L'Encyclopédie; Voltaire.* Paris: P. Téqui, 1925.

Published with the authorization of the Archbishop of Paris.

Busnelli, M. D. *Diderot et l'Italie: reflets de vie et de culture italienne dans la pensée de Diderot.* Paris: Champion, 1925.

Rev. in *TLS,* Dec. 3, 1925, p. 822.

Cazenave, Jean. "Le roman hispano-mauresque en France." *RLC,* V (1925), 594-640.

Cf. *ibid.,* V, 239-45.

Cohen, Gustave. "Le séjour de Saint-Évremond en Hollande (1665-1670)." *RLC,* V (1925), 431-54.

The first of what promises to be an important series of articles.

Crump, P. E. "The theme of solitude: an aspect of the 'sentiment de la nature' in the seventeenth century." *French quarterly,* VII (1925), 158-69.

Descartes, René. *Discours de la méthode.* Texte et commentaire par Étienne Gilson. Paris: Librairie philosophique, J. Vrin, 1925.

On the method of this edition see the *Bulletin de la société française de philosophie,* XXIV (1924), 135-50.

Dijkshoorn, J. A. *L'influence française dans les mœurs et les salons des Provinces-Unies.* Paris: Louis Arnette, 1925.

Dufour, Théophile. *Recherches bibliographiques sur les œuvres imprimées de J.-J. Rousseau, suivies de l'inventaire des papiers de Neufchâtel.* Avec une introduction de P.P.Plan. Paris: Giraud-Badin, 1925. 2 vols.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Rev. by H. Buffenoir in *Revue critique*, XCII (1925), 407-08.
A fundamental work.

Evans, D. O. "Un problème d'histoire littéraire: l'évolution du théâtre social en France de 1750 à 1850." *RSH*, XXXIX (1925), 51-63.

Faÿ, Bernard. *L'esprit révolutionnaire en France et aux États-Unis à la fin du XVIII^e siècle.* Paris: Champion, 1925.

Rev. by A. Aulard in *La Révolution française*, LXXVIII (1925), 83-85; by Carl Becker in *AHR*, XXX (1925), 810-12; by C. Cestre in *RAA*, II (1925), 370-73.

This is an exhaustive study of the current of ideas in eighteenth-century France and America in the period 1770-1800. Faÿ divides these thirty years into five epochs: (1) 1770-1775, a period of religious revival and social optimism; (2) 1775-1782, the formation of the Franco-American alliance; (3) 1783-1789, the discovery of America by French radicals and *philosophes*; (4) 1789-1794, democratic movements in both countries; and (5) 1795-1800, *le grand schisme*, caused by a conservative reaction in the United States and by Bonapartism abroad. Of these five divisions, the first, third, and fourth are especially distinguished by the presentation of much new material from comparatively inaccessible sources. There is a long bibliography, which needs, however, to be checked, and an analytic summary for each chapter. The work is basic for the history of eighteenth-century ideas.

Certain defects appear. Although Faÿ cites his sources with reasonable care, there are many errata not noticed on pp. 377-78, so that the book must be constantly checked. Since he fails to take into account the service of French manners in spreading ideas before 1770, he over-estimates the American hostility to France. His most serious defect is a willingness to generalize from insufficient instances, a characteristic which leads him to see movements and tendencies as more sharply developed than they really were. Moreover, he does not define the varying milieus, French and American, in which particular ideas were potent. No work in the field of Franco-American relationship has appeared, however, comparable in organization or thoroughness to this one; and there are few which treat so lucidly of the political and social ideas of the pre-Revolutionary period in France, and consequently in Europe. —H. M. J.

Folkierski, W. *Entre le classicisme et le romantisme: étude sur l'esthétique et les esthéticiens du XVIII^e siècle.* Paris: Champion, 1925.

Fransen, J. *Les comédiens français en Hollande au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècles.* Paris: Champion, 1925.

Funk, Philipp. *Von der Aufklärung zur Romantik: Studien zur Vorgeschichte der münchener Romantik.* Munich: Kösel & Pustet, 1925.

Gilman, Margaret. *Othello in France.* Paris: Champion, 1925.

Rev. by J. Derocquigny in *RAA*, III (1926), 340-43.

Giraud, Victor. *Le Christianisme de Chateaubriand.* I. *Les origines.* Paris: Hachette, 1925.

Rev. by Marc Citoleux in *Revue critique*, XCII (1925), 391-93.
A study of the history of religious ideas in France from the seventeenth century to Chateaubriand.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Giraud, Victor. "Les étapes du XVIII[e] siècle." *Revue des deux mondes*, July 15, 1924, pp. 344-75 ("Du 'Dictionnaire' de Bayle à l'"Encyclopédie'"); October 15, 1924, pp. 882-917 ("Voltaire et les Encyclopédistes"); November 15, 1924, pp. 393-426 ("Jean-Jacques Rousseau et son école"); January 1, 1925, pp. 79-114 ("La Révolution française et les idées religieuses").

Green, F. C. "Further evidence of realism in the French novel of the eighteenth century." *MLN*, XL (1925), 257-70.

Supplementary to the author's article in *MLN*, XXXVIII (1923), 321-29.

Green, F. C. "Montesquieu the novelist and some imitations of the 'Lettres persanes.'" *MLR*, XX (1925), 32-42.

Haines, C. M. *Shakespeare in France: criticism, Voltaire to Victor Hugo.* London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1925.

Rev. by A. W. Reed in *RES*, II (1926), 109-11; in *Library*, 4th series, VI (1925), 194-95.

Havens, George R. "The nature doctrine of Voltaire." *PMLA*, XL (1925), 852-62.

Havens, George R. "La théorie de la bonté naturelle de l'homme chez J.-J. Rousseau." *RHL*, XXXI (1924), 629-42; XXXII (1925), 24-37, 212-25.

An important series of articles, which should be read by all students of the history of ideas in the eighteenth century.

Havens, George R. *Selections from Voltaire, with explanatory comment upon his life and works.* New York and London: Century co., 1925.

An excellent volume of selections. For the English reader there is no better introduction to the subject.

Hubert, René. *Les sciences sociales dans l'Encyclopédie: la philosophie de l'histoire et le problème des origines sociales.* Paris: Alcan, 1925.

Rev. by G. Ascoli in *RSH*, XXXIX (1925), 152-53; by R. Lenoir, *ibid.*, pp. 113-25.

Hunter, Alfred C. *J. B. A. Suard: un introducteur de la littérature anglaise en France.* Paris: Champion, 1925.

Rev. by P. Van Tieghem in *RSH*, XL (1925), 134-35.

Inklaar, D. *Baculard d'Arnaud, ses imitateurs en Hollande et dans d'autres pays.* The Hague: Smits; Paris: Champion, 1925.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Jan, Eduard von. "Der französische Freimaurerroman im 18. Jahrhundert." *GRM*, XIII (1925), 391-403.
Mainly concerned with Ramsay's *Les voyages de Cyrus* (1728) and Terrasson's *Sethos* (1731).

Jones, Howard Mumford. "Albrecht von Haller and English philosophy." *PMLA*, XL (1925), 103-27.
Important especially for the influence of Newton and Shaftesbury on the continent.

Köster, Albert. *Die deutsche Literatur der Aufklärungsarbeit. Fünf Kapitel aus der Literaturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts mit einem Anhang: Die allgemeinen Tendenzen der Geniebewegung.* Heidelberg: Winter, 1925.
Rev. by A. Ludwig in *Archiv*, CXLIX (1925), 91-94; by J. G. Robertson in *Litteris*, II (1925), 161-62.

Lachèvre, Frédéric. *Le libertinage au XVII^e siècle: les derniers libertins.* Paris: Champion, 1925.
Rev. in *TLS*, Oct. 22, 1925, p. 690.

Lanson, G. *Notes pour servir à l'étude des chapitres 35-39 du "Siècle de Louis XIV" de Voltaire.* Paris: Istra; London: Humphrey Milford, 1924. Reprinted from *Mélanges de littérature et de philologie germaniques offerts à Charles Andler.*
Rev. by G. Rudler in *French quarterly*, VIII (1926), 70-71.

Lanson, R. "Le Moyen âge dans l'art français du XVIII^e siècle." *Bulletin de la société d'histoire moderne*, Feb. 1, 1925.

Legouis, Émile. *G. G. de Beaurieu et son "Elève de la nature," 1763.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925. ("The Taylorian lecture," 1925.)
Rev. by G. Rudler in *French quarterly*, VIII (1926), 74.

Lods, Adolphe and Paul Alphandéry. *Jean Astruc et la critique biblique au XVIII^e siècle.* Paris: Istra, 1924.
An important monograph.

McMahon, Sister Mary Catherine. *Aesthetics and art in the "Astrée" of Honoré d'Urfé.* Washington, 1925.
A Catholic University dissertation.

Magendie, M. *La politesse mondaine et les théories de l'honnêteté en France au XVII^e siècle, de 1600 à 1660.* Paris: Alcan, 1925.
Rev. by J. E. Spingarn in *Romanic review*, XVII (1926), 71-73.

Martin, Gaston. *La franc-maçonnerie et la préparation de la*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Révolution de 1789 en France et spécialement en Bretagne. Toulouse: Falandry, 1925.

Rev. by Henri Sée in *EH,* CXLIX (1925), 263.

Martin, S. G. "Kant as a student of natural science." *Monist,* XXXV (1925), 248-58.

Maugain, Gabriel. [Review of J. G. Robertson, *Studies in the genesis of romantic theory.*] *RLC,* V (1925), 522-29.

Valuable remarks on the attitude toward the "rules" and on conceptions of "taste" and "verisimilitude" in seventeenth-century France and Italy.

"Divers propos du Chevalier de Méré en 1674-1675." Edited by Ch.-H. Boudhors. *RHL,* XXXII (1925), 68-78, 432-56.

Meyer, Eugène. "Diderot moraliste." *RCC,* XXVI[1] (1924-25), 375-81, 469-80, 641-49; XXVI[2] (1925), 521-37, 742-60.

Micard, Étienne. *Antoine Léonard Thomas (1732-1785).* Paris: Champion, 1925.

Rev. in *TLS,* Sept. 10, 1925, p. 580.

Monglond, A. *Vies préromantiques.* Paris: Belles-lettres, 1925.

Murris, R. *La Hollande et les Hollandais au XVII[e] et au XVIII[e] siècles vus par les français.* Paris: Champion, 1925.

Rice, Richard Ashley. "Rousseau and the poetry of nature in eighteenth-century France." *Smith College studies in modern languages,* Vol. VI, Nos. 3 and 4, April and July, 1925.

Rousseau, J. J. *Correspondence générale de J.-J. Rousseau.* Collationnée sur les originaux, annotée et commentée par Théophile Dufour et publiée par P.-P. Plan. Tomes I-IV. Paris: A. Colin, 1924-25.

Rev. by H. Buffenoir in *Revue critique,* XCII (1925), 245-46, 406-07; by L. Roustan, *ibid.,* XCII (1925), 47-49, 123-24; by A. Schinz in *New York Times Book review,* Jan. 11, 1925, p. 18; in *TLS,* Jan. 29, 1925, p. 64. Cf. A. Schinz in *MP,* XXIII (1925), 167-73.

Rousseau, J. J. *La nouvelle Héloïse.* Nouvelle édition . . . par Daniel Mornet. Paris: Hachette, 1925. 4 vols. ("Les grands écrivains de la France," 2[e] série.)

Rev. by H. Buffenoir in *Revue critique,* XCII (1925), 429-30; by G. Rudler in *French quarterly,* VIII (1926), 72-74; in *RLC,* VI (1926), 184-85.

An excellent edition, which may be recommended to students of English literature and ideas in the eighteenth century by reason both of the richness of its information and of the maturity and suggestiveness of its method. Of the four volumes, three contain the text and commentary, while the whole of Volume I is devoted to an introductory study of the chief questions raised by Rousseau's novel—the literary and social milieu out of which it sprang, its genesis and composition, the history of its publication (including a bibliographical and critical account of the eighteenth-century editions), and its success and influence in France to the close of the century. The specialist

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

in English literature will regret that Mornet did not extend his researches in Rousseau's background and influence beyond the limits of France (there are, it is true, some excellent pages [I, 93-96] on the influence of Richardson); but all things considered, the Introduction is an extremely valuable and interesting piece of writing, quite the most elaborate and exhaustively documented monograph that has ever been published on an eighteenth-century work of fiction. The commentary in Volumes II-IV is equally deserving of praise. A few examples selected at random will indicate something of its interest for students of eighteenth-century ideas: II, 44-46 (the relation of the good and the beautiful [one misses here a reference to Shaftesbury]), 49-50 (the enthusiasm for ancient history), 130 (the "style marotique"), 154-55 (the "naturalness" of modesty), 190-92 (the question of the duel); III, 145-47 (the attitude toward China); IV, 62-63 (reason in children), 65-66 (Helvétius' doctrine of equality), 103-04 (toleration), 252 (Jansenists and Methodists), 341-42 (truth in art).

Those who have read the articles which Mornet published in the *Revue des cours et conférences* for 1913-14 and 1921-22 will not need to be told that the present edition is a model of careful and self-conscious method. Exception may be taken, it is true, to certain features of the execution: I am not sure, for example, that the best place for a critical-bibliographical discussion of editions is in an Introduction, the point of view of which is primarily historical; and there can be no question that the lack of an index is a grave defect. On the other hand, in dealing with such matters as the relation of the *Nouvelle Héloïse* to its milieu, the difference in the character of its reception by professional men of letters and by the general public (a striking demonstration of the danger of generalizing as to the vogue of a book from the evidence of reviews alone), and the nature and limits of its influence on French fiction, Mornet displays a grasp of the conditions of his problem and an ingenuity in devising new methods of attack which are in the highest degree suggestive.

Schöffler, Herbert. *Das literarische Zürich (1700-1750)*. Leipzig: H. Haessel, 1925.

Rev. by Walther Fischer in *ES*, LX (1926), 363-64.

Schütze, Martin. "The cultural environment of the philosophy of Kant." *Monist*, XXXV (1925), 200-23.

Schütze, Martin. "Herder's psychology." *Monist*, XXXV (1925), 507-54.

Sée, Henri. *L'évolution de la pensée politique au XVIII^e siècle*. Paris: Marcel Giard, 1925.

Rev. by A. Aulard in *La Révolution française*, LXXIX (1926), 70.

Chapters on the origins (Locke and the English influence), on the liberals (Montesquieu, d'Argenson, Voltaire), on the democrats (Rousseau, Diderot), on the reformers (the physiocrats, Helvétius, d'Holbach, Turgot), and on the formation of the revolutionary doctrine (Mably, Condorcet, Raynal, etc.).

Stadler, H. *Paul-Henri Mallet (1730-1807)*. Lausanne: Imprimerie commerciale, 1924.

Rev. in *RLC*, VI (1926), 185.

Strowski, Fortunat. "La philosophie de l'homme dans la littérature française." *RCC*, XXVI[1] (1924-25), 3-14, 233-42, 395-403, 490-500, 682-94; XXVI[2] (1925), 13-25, 289-303.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

For contents see the following title. A disappointing treatment of an excellent subject.

Strowski, Fortunat. *La sagesse française (Montaigne, St. François de Sales, Descartes, La Rochefoucauld, Pascal)*. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1925.

Van Roosbroeck, Gustave L. "Persian letters before Montesquieu." *MLR*, XX (1925), 432-42.

New facts on the early history of the "foreign-observer" genre.

Vermeil, M. "La musique de J.-S. Bach et la civilisation allemande au début du XVIII[e] siècle." *RCC*, XXVI[1] (1924-25), 108-22, 404-19, 591-605.

Vézinet, F. *Autour de Voltaire, avec quelques inédits*. Paris: Champion, 1925.

Rev. by G. Chinard in *MLN*, XLI (1926), 352; by Henri Sée in *RH*, CLI (1926), 266-67.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

BOOK REVIEWS

Weltdeutung in Grimmelshausens Simplicius Simplicissimus, by Emil Ermatinger. B.G. Teubner, Leipzig und Berlin, 1925.

Grimmelshausen's *Simplicius Simplicissimus*, the greatest German novel of the seventeenth century, has after two centuries of comparative neglect recently become the object of renewed interest. It has been translated during the last few years into several languages—twice into English—and a number of scholars have devoted their time to the investigation of the many interesting problems relative to the novel and its author. Recently A. Bechtold and especially the Dutch scholar J.H. Scholte have completed the necessary preliminary philological investigations, and now one of the most versatile of modern German literary historians, the Swiss Emil Ermatinger, has undertaken to interpret the philosophical meaning of the book.

Ermatinger does not hesitate to place Grimmelshausen beside Shakespeare as far as depth of content and power of description are concerned. *Simplicissimus* is not a late representative of the Spanish picaresque novel, nor does it belong in the same class with the bombastic novels of Zesen, Lohenstein, and other German writers of the seventeenth century. It is rather a "Weltanschauungsdichtung" of the highest value, and its author is one of the most important pioneers of modern thought in Germany. The clumsy structure of the novel, its coarse humour, its obscure symbolism have beclouded the real inner meaning of the work. Simplicissimus is, like Parsifal and Faust, a genuine seeker for God and for truth. Grimmelshausen does not make a vain show of great outward knowledge as has frequently been asserted, he consciously ridicules in fact the vanity of school and book learning. In a clear and convincing style Ermatinger points out the polarity in Simplicissimus', and hence in Grimmelshausen's philosophy, the constant struggle of good and bad in the hero on his road toward redemption. Neither the change of religion nor the entering into the bonds of matrimony, neither the life in an Utopian society nor the renunciation of the world—in short no single act or outward change can bring about salvation. His soul can only be saved by finding in this material world the symbol for the eternal and divine. Simplicissimus is the Faust of the seventeenth century, and Grimmelshausen belongs to the sucession of great German thinkers which leads from Eckhart, Paracelsus, and Böhme to Leipniz, Hamann, Herder, and Goethe.

We may leave open the question whether Ermatinger does not overshoot the mark a little in his high praise of the book and whether he does not in certain instances see too much symbolism. This new interpretation of the novel is nevertheless bound to be of great influence on our estimation of Grimmelshausen and his works.

ERWIN G. GUDDE

University of California

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

NOV 2 1926

LOGICAL
RAL LIBRARY
OF MICH.

PHILOLOGICAL QUARTERLY

A Journal Devoted to Scholarly Investigation in the Classical and Modern Languages and Literatures

VOLUME V OCTOBER, 1926 NUMBER 4

PUBLISHED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY, IOWA

Google

PHILOLOGICAL QUARTERLY

Issued in January, April, July, and October. Subscription price, $2.00 a year; single copies, 60 cents postpaid. Contributions should not exceed 8000 words in length. Reviews will ordinarily be limited to 500 words. All communications are to be addressed to the Editor, Hardin Craig, Iowa City, Iowa.

Editor

HARDIN CRAIG

Associate Editors

CHARLES BUNDY WILSON, Germanic Languages and Literatures
ROY C. FLICKINGER, Classical Languages and Literatures
BALDWIN MAXWELL, English and Comparative Literature
RALPH EMERSON HOUSE, Romance Languages and Literatures

CONTENTS

Makeshifts for the Passive of Deponent Verbs in Latin - - - - - - - - *Eugene S. McCartney* 289

The Hungry Knave in the Beaumont and Fletcher Plays - - - - - - - - *Baldwin Maxwell* 299

C and *Z* in American Spanish - - - *Norman L. Willey* 306

Pettie's Petty Pilfering from Poets - *J. N. Douglas Bush* 325

The Royal Boar and the Ellesmere Chaucer - - - - - - - - - - - *Edwin Ford Piper* 330

English Literature of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century: A Current Bibliography - - - - - - *Ronald S. Crane* 341

Book Review

EMIL ERMATINGER, *Weltdeutung in Grimmelshausens Simplicus Simplicissimus* (Edwin G. Gudde).

Entered at the post office at Iowa City, Iowa, as second class mail matter.

Digitized by Google

Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Google

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA STUDIES

STUDIES IN NATURAL HISTORY
STUDIES IN PSYCHOLOGY
STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
HUMANISTIC STUDIES
STUDIES IN EDUCATION
STUDIES IN MEDICINE
STUDIES IN PHYSICS
STUDIES IN CHILD WELFARE
AIMS AND PROGRESS OF RESEARCH

Google

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

3 9015 06042 6601
Replaced with Commercial Microforms
1993
NON-CIRCULATING
PERIODICAL
COLLECTION
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN